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ME THER AND WHER

—A STUDY OF WHERE DEVELOPING IN THE SUBORDINATING FUNCTION (II)—

By KIKUO YAMAKAWA*

I. Introduction

In the first part of this series of study I made an attempt to describe how in Old English pær (> ModE there) was used in the function of ModE where to introduce a subordinate clause of local determination and how hwær (> ModE where) was beginning to develop the corresponding syntactical function by the close of the same period. Now I shall go on to observe how in the Middle English period per [per, ther(e)] (< OE pær) was preserved and how the newer use of ware [wer, hwer, wher(e)] (< OE hwær) was promoted as relative adverb or subordinate conjunction during the same period.

In describing the Middle English phenomena with special reference to the interrelation in historical development of ther and wher and their semantic or functional features, I find it convenient to make the following threefold classification according to the periods, syntactical uses, and forms concerned: first, II. EME (i.e. Early Middle English, c. 1100—c. 1300) and III. LME (i.e. Late Middle English, c. 1300—c. 1500); secondly, A. non-restrictive relative, B. restrictive relative, C. subordinate conjunction introducing an adverbial clause of local determination, in the sense of ‘in, at, or to the place where,’ and D. indefinite relative or conjunctive adverb introducing an adverbial clause of generalizing local determination, in the sense of ‘wherever’; and thirdly, a. ther and b. wher.

In this classification, I must admit, it is sometimes difficult to draw a distinct demarcation between A and B, since in those early English texts on which I shall depend for the exemplification the punctuation is not so logically clear in indicating the distinction between the restrictive and non-restrictive uses of the relatives as in modern English texts. Otherwise there are so many intermediate cases in making semantic or functional discriminations that it even seems irrelevant for the intrinsic clarification of the problems concerned to classify them. I should like, however, to consider it significant to relate Class A to the initial stage of transition from demonstrative there to relative or conjunctional there and where. Further, it may be assumed that the passage from Classes B and C to Class D roughly corresponds to the functional shift from demonstrative determinative force to indefinite determinative

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The numbering of II and III, instead of I and II respectively, is adopted on account of its identification with that of chapters in the present instalment of this study.
force, the former being inherent in *there* and the latter in *where.*

The general tendency is that throughout the period of Middle English *ther* was more frequently found for the functions A, B and C, while *wher* or its intensified form *wher-so* or *wher-so-ever* maintained its status in the function D. In LME, however, *wher* made a greater advance into the provinces A, B, and C. It is worth remarking, on the other hand, that in all the four functions *ther* was preserved more persistently than might be expected, especially in contrast with the substitution of the kindred connective *whan* (*<OE hwonne* when) for *than* (*<OE ponne* then) and *tho* (*<OE pā* then) in Middle English, as I surveyed it in my previous article.4

II. **EME**

What seems most noteworthy about the EME phenomena is that several texts,5 such as *Poema Morale,* *The Owl and the Nightingale,* the Caligula MS. of *Lasamon,* *King Horn,* *Ancrene Wisse,* *Vices and Virtues,* *The Ormulum,* etc., contain *per* [par, paer] as local connective but no instances of *war(e)* [hwar, whar], although as temporal connective *hwenne* is found along with *penne* and/or *po* in the same texts. The newer relative or conjunction *war(e)* can only be attested in a few particular texts. It may be considered natural that in the sense of ‘wherever,’ Class D, there are not infrequent instances of *war,* together with the intensified composite forms *war-so,* *war sum,* *war pat,* etc., sometimes along with the older *per* or its intensified form *per as.*

II Aa.

In the EME texts, with the exception of *Genesis and Exodus* and the Otho MS. of *Lasamon,* most non-restrictive relative clauses of place are introduced by *per.*

(1) Go we pene narewe wei, and pene wei grene,

   *Per* forð-fared lutel folc, ac it is feir and scene.


(=Let us go the narrow way, and the green way, where few men walk along, but it is beautiful and bright.)

(2) *Pu* nart vair ne *pu* nart clene,

   Wane *pu* comest to manne hāse,

   *Par* pornes bop and ris idraȝe,

   Bi høgge and bi picke wode,

   *Par* men gop oft to hore node. —*Owl & N.,* C 584–8.

(=You are neither beautiful nor clean, when you come to men’s enclosure, where thorns and twigs are drawn by a hedge or thick weeds, where men often go to their need.)

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3 It is but natural, however, that there should occur some cases, for instance, ex. 4, III Ab below, where the fact is at variance with this putative correspondence, since the choice of *there* and *where* in the concrete context is often conditioned by more than one factor.


5 The list of those EME and LME texts which the writer has adopted to quote from will be given at the end of the present article, with a brief description of dates, dialects, editions, and abbreviations.
(3) He wonede at Ernleþe, at æðelen are chirechen, ypven Seuarne stape,…on fest Radestone, per he bock radde.—Laȝamon, C 5—10. (=He dwelt at Ernley, at a noble church on the bank of the Severn,… near Radestone, where he read books.)

(4) He wende to pan burhãate, per pe king on bure lai.—Ibid. 17670—1. (=He went to the gate of the burgh, where the king lay in his chamber.)

(5) Arður wende his speres ord, and for-stod heom pene uord, per adrucke Sexes, full seoue pusend.—Ibid. 20158—61. (=Arthur turned the point of his spear and hindered them from leaving the ford, where the Saxons, full seven thousand, were drowned.)

(6) He ariuede in yrlonde,  
   Per he wo fondede.  
   Per he dude Apulf child  
   Wedden maide Reynild. ——King Horn, C 1633—6.  
(=He arrived in Ireland, where he had had sorrowful experiences. There he made Child Athulf marry Princess Reynild.)

(7) Ariseð, deaire, ariseð, cumed to drihtines dom forte beon idemel, pear na prud bemere ne schal beon iborhen.—Ancrene Wisse 109. 8—10. (=Arise, you dead, arise, and come to the Lord's judgement to be judged, where no proud trumpeter will be saved.)

(8) Pe utereste is se piesternesse of helle, ðar naure ȝiete light ne came, …—V. & V. 17. 29—30. (=The uttermost is the darkness of hell, where light has never yet come.)

(9) Oc god him sente reed in wis  
   Þat he bi-lef in gerasis;  
   Þor he was for his fadres luuen  
   Holden wurde like a wel a-buuen. ——Gen. & Ex. 1515—8.  
(=But God sent him an instruction, indeed, that he should remain in Gerar, where he was honourably and very highly esteemed for his father's sake.)

It may be worth noting that per, when it can be interpreted as non-restrictive relative, is sometimes liable to display a good deal of its original function as demonstrative and anaphoric adverb meaning 'there.' The juxtaposition of a noun of place and per with its demonstrative force in two consecutive sentences—that is the very situation that will shift the latter into a relative adverb with the former as its antecedent. In example 5 above, per would also be interpreted as demonstrative and the whole quotation would mean: "Arthur…hindered them from leaving the ford. There the Saxons…were drowned." Anyhow, the phenomenon is significant in suggesting a transitional stage through which per was proceeding from demonstrative to relative. As a matter of interest, in addition to verse 20160 quoted above, Laȝamon contains further instances where per can be interpreted either as demonstrative or non-restrictive relative, in verses: 1615, 6691, 19765, 21443, 22803, 22836, 26186, 28062, 29573, 30546, and 30866.

Again, in example 6, the pers used in the two successive lines show some trace of shifting in function. The end of the first line is punctuated with a comma and that of the second with a period in Lumby and McKnight's edition, from which the example is quoted, but in Morris's edition the first line has no punctuation at the end and the end of the second is punctuated with a comma. In the latter punctuation, where the parallel nature of the two pers is evidently reflected, we might be readily induced to understand the second per in the same function, non-restrictive relative, as the first per, and interpret the quotation as mean-
"He arrived in Ireland, where he had had sorrowful experiences, and where he made Child Athulf marry Princess Reynild." In *King Horn* we can further refer to verses 1301 and 1505, where *per* may similarly be interpreted either as demonstrative or as non-restrictive relative.

II Ab.

The use of *war(e) [wor, quor]* as non-restrictive relative in EME is quite exceptional. It is found only in *Genesis and Exodus* and the Otho MS. of *Lazamon*. For the occurrence in *Genesis and Exodus* of *quor* [wor] as relative adverb or subordinate conjunction, which can be attested there almost as frequently as *dor*, Kivimaa\(^6\) infers that French, probably combined with Latin, was responsible in some degree, especially considering the spelling of *qu- (cf. L ubi<quo-bi, F où)* for *hw-* adopted in the work.\(^7\) Whatever the origin, the following instances, quoted from *Genesis and Exodus*, are noteworthy, as they are suggestive of the historical transition from *there* to *where*.

1. "... was sort leui
   In lond caldea, hur hicte de tun,
   Quor deades strenge warp him dun; ——712—4.

   (=He was short-lived in the land of Chaldees, the town of Ur, where Death's string threw him down.)

2. *Dor* was in helle a sundri stede,
   *Wor* de seli folc reste dede;
   *Dor* he stunden til helpe cam,
   Til ihesu crist fro deden he nam. ——1985—8.

   (=There was in hell a separate abode, where the righteous people rested. There they waited till help came, till Jesus Christ took them from there.)

   Example 2 is particularly interesting. There we see at the beginnings of the successive lines *wor* and *dor* in the parallel function, though the latter appears to have more of the demonstrative and anaphoric force which is inherent in the word.

   As for the instances in *Lazamon*, the two MSS., the Caligula (dated a. 1225, written in the West Midland dialect) and the Otho (dated c. 1300, written in the Southwestern dialect), show a marked contrast in the use of *per* and *war(e)* in the corresponding places. Below I shall enumerate all the instances of non-restrictive *per* or *war(e)* that can be found in the text.

3. "Heo ferden to Genoire, *par* laei Vortigerne.——C 16186—91 / Hii to Genoyre wende, *war* Vortiger alende.——O 16109—1. (=They marched to Genoure, where Vortriger lay.)

4. "Pa gunnen heo fusen and ferden to pan hulle, iwæpned wel alte, *per* stod pat seolkuð were, muchel and swiðe sterc.——C 17373—7 / Po gonnen hii wende and ferde to pan hulle, iwepned well allæ, *war* stod pat wonder worc, mochel and swipe stark.

\(^6\) K. Kivimaa: *Pe and Pat as Clause Connectives in Early Middle English with Especial Consideration of the Emergence of the Pleonastic Pat* (Helsinki, 1966), p. 143f.

\(^7\) Generally speaking, the spelling *qu- for hw- is characteristic of the Northern or East-Midland dialects in Middle English. Among the ME texts I have had recourse to I can refer to the following, besides *Gen. & Ex.: Cursor M. (quar(e)), Gawain (quere)*, and some religious lyrics of the fifteenth century (*quare, quhail*).
—O. (=Then they began to march and proceeded to the hill, all well-weaponed, where the marvellous work stood, great and very strong.)

(5) Iseo 3e pa teldes, per Childrich lið i ueldes. —C 20619—20 / Nou 3eo isep pe teldes, war Childrich lip in feldes. —O. (=Now you see the tents, where Childric lies on the fields.)

(6) Leou war fuseð Childric, and fleon wule of londe, and penched to Alemaigne, per beoð his ældren. —C 21545—8 / Lo war wendep Childrich, and fare wole of londe, and penchèp to Alemaigne, ware woniep his eldre. —O. (=Look! where Childric goes, is flying from the land, and is passing to Alemaigne, where his ancestors dwell.)

(7) Feower noked he is, and per inne is feower kunnes fisc, and ælc fisc an his ende. —C 21999—22002 / Four nokede hit his, and par in his four cunne fisc, and ech fisc in his ende, ware was his cunde. —O. (=It is four-cornered, and there are four kinds of fish in it, each in their end, where the same kind of fish dwells.)

(8) ...pat heo to pan wude comen, per heo wel wusten sikerliche to halden pane he3e man of Rome. —C 26799—26802 / ...and ladde him to pan wode, war he wel wiste sikerliche to holde pane heye man of Rome. —O. (=...till they came [and he led him] to the wood, where they [he] knew well that they [he] would surely meet the noble man of Rome.)

What should deserve special attention are examples 5 and 6. In these sentences the principal clauses introduced by per or war(e) contain as their predicate verbs iseo [isep] (plural imperative, = 'see') and penched [penche] (= 'intends (to go)'), which both imply the notion of intentional discovery or searching for some unknown object. Structurally, per or war(e) refers to the preceding noun of place; but we might infer that the cognitive force of these main verbs induced the scribe of the later MS. to employ war(e), the word of indefinite or interrogative origin, in place of per, the word of demonstrative origin. This kind of syntactical situation may be regarded as one of the factors that motivated the substitution of where for there as relative or conjunction.

II Ba.

Per, as restrictive relative adverb, which appears more characteristic of early English syntax, is as predominantly found in the EME texts. The noteworthy exceptions are Kentish Sermons, and, as under Class A, Genesis and Exodus and the Otho MS. of Lagenon.

(1) Pe preost him wile haten pet he nime pa ilke ehte 06er his wurð, and dele hit wrecche monne oðer to brugge oðer to chirche weorke oðer on sume stude per hit beoð ivel bitoʒen for cristes luue. 8 —Lamb. Hom. 31. 24—27. (=The priest will order him to take that property or its value and distribute it among poor men, or spend it on bridges, on church work, or in some place where it may be well employed for Christ's love.)

(2) Pe3 appel trendli frón pon trowe

par he and oper mid grove,

Pe3 he bo par from bicume,

8 With this might be compared the corresponding use of the pronominal relative pet (=that) in the same text: "Nu ic mot in pet ilke hus pet ic er wes." —Lamb. Hom. 27. 26—27. (=Now I must dwell in the same house where I once was.)
He cup wel whonene he is icume. ——Owl & N., C 135—8.

(=Though the apple rolls from the tree where it and others have grown together—though it is away from it—it shows well where it has come from.)

(3) He ferde to pere stowe par Diane inne stod.——Lazamon, C 1174—5. (=He went to the place where Diana stood.)

(4) Azaiin heo gunnen wende to Vdeer pan kinge, foro in to pan bure per he laei on bedde.——Ibid. 16784—8. (=They went back to King Uther, forth into the chamber where he lay in bed.)

(5) Pa comen Ar6ures men quechen after streten, riht pene ilke waei per pe o6er uerde laei.——Ibid. 26942—5. (=Then Arthur's men came advancing along the street, just the same road where the other host lay.)

(6) Rymenhild vndude pe dure pin

Of pe hus per heo was in, ——King Horn, C 1047—8.

(=Rymenhild unfastened the door-pin of the house where she was.) (Cf. MS. L (1049—50): ...Of boure pat he was ynne.)

(7) ...So hiet he hem dat hie scolden in to ælchem huse ðar hie comen, ...——V. & V. 99. 15—16. (=Then he commanded them to enter each house where they would come.)

(8) ...3if pe herof noht nagrist, nart pu naht liues par ðe ðu libben scoldest.——Ibid. 139. 10—11. (=If you do not shudder at this, you are not in the life that you should live.)

(9) Forr rihtt onn hiss prittende d33

Pe33 comenn till patt chestre

Par ure Laferrd Jesu Crist

Wass borenn her to manne. ——Orm. 3476—9.

(=For just on the thirteenth day they came to the town where our Lord Jesus Christ was born here to mankind.)

(10) ...ipi burð tid in al pe burh of belleem ne fant tu hus lewe per pine nesche childes limes inne mihte reste.——Wohunge U. L. 277. 26—27. (=At the time of your birth, in all the city of Bethlehem you found no house-shelter where your tender child's limbs might rest.)

(11) And witterlike he it aue6 him seid,

ðe stede ðor abraham was leid; ——Gen. & Ex. 2425—6.

(=And indeed he told him of the place where Abraham had been buried.)

Examples 3, 6 and 10 should be specially noticed. In each of them the relative adverb par or per introduces a clause where the adverbial preposition inne or in is used to indicate the local adverbial relation explicitly. From a viewpoint of modern syntax, the use of the post-posed preposition must be considered superfluous; but in these early intuitive constructions inne or in, functioning as an adverb of local modification and closely related to the verb of the clause, reinforces the local reference of the relative adverb par or per by which the clause is introduced. The modern type of expression that corresponds to this is the one that contains the relative pronoun that and the preposition in after the verb of the clause. This time-honoured determinative feature of a relative construction, which is observable both in “per...inne” and in “pat...inne,” can be verified by the variant appended to the main quotation under example 6 above.9

As for the composite form par ðe in the quotation (ex. 8) from Vices and Virtues, it is
limited to EME and de [pe] is genetically interpreted as strengthening the determinative force of par [per]. It may be worth remarking that both par [per] and pe are of demonstrative origin, though the latter has been reduced to a mere enclitic particle.10

II Bb.

In contrast with the predominance of per as restrictive relative adverb, war(e) [wer, quer], to which ModE where is to be morphologically traced, is only sporadically used in EME texts. Two instances of war [wer] in this use can be quoted from Kentish Sermons, which was composed in the Kentish dialect about 1250, and they are the only relative or conjunctive adverbs of place that are found in the work. This conspicuous phenomenon might be ascribable to the influence of French in the original.11 Another instance of quer as restrictive relative is below quoted from Genesis and Exodus, whose philological characteristics were mentioned under Class A.

(1) Po kinges hem wenten and hi seghen po sterre pet yede bi-fore hem al-wat hi kam over po huse war ure louerd was. —Kentish Sermons 29. 7—9. (.=The kings went and saw the star, which went on before them till it came and stood over the house where our Lord was.) (Cf. F: ····dusqu’ele vint sor le maison u Nostre Sire estoit.)

(2) Per were vi Ydres of stone, pet were i-clepede bapieres wer po gius hem wesse for clenesse and for religiun. —Ibid. 29. 21—23. (.=There were six water-pots of stone, which were called bathers where the Jews washed themselves for cleanliness and religion.) (Cf. F: ····baingnoires, u li Jui se baingnoient e lavoient por nete6 e por religion)

(3) At damaske is de dridde stede, 
Quer abram is bigging dede, —Gen. & Ex. 761—2. (=Damascus is the third place where Abram dwelt.)

As in the case of Class A, the contrastable use of per and war(e) as restrictive relatives can be exemplified from the early and late MSS. of Layamon.

(4) Brutus him seide tiöinde pat an lond he ferde sechinde per he mighte purh-wunian mid his wnfolke. —C 1382—5 / Brutus him tolde tidinge pat a lond a verde sechinge ware he mihte wonie mid his gode folke. —O. (=Brutus told him the news that he would go searching a land where he might dwell with his good people.)

(5) Ich inckere freond wur6e, 3if 3it me welle5 Iaben¥¥¥riht to pan weie pe 3it witen C 5623—9 / ...frendes iworpe, 3ef 3e me wollep leade····riht to pane weie pat we wite wel ware pis Romanisse folk forp wollep ride. —O. (=I will be your friend, if you will lead me directly to the way that you [we] know very well where these Roman men will ride forth.)

9 This type of relative construction, where the relative adverb of place is followed by a prepositional adverb, is so characteristic of Middle English syntax that it can further be instance in several quotations below: exx. 3, II Ba (par...inne); 6, II Ba (per...in); 10, II Ba (per...inne); 1, II Ca (per...in); 4, III Aa (ther...inne); 10, III Ab (per...in); 1, III Ba (par...among); 3, III Ba (per...inne); 4, III Ba, var. (per...inne); 5, III Ba (ther...inne); 12, III Ba (per...in); 8, III Bb (wher...inne); and 11, III Ca (per...in).

10 In the present article par [per] pe is further exemplified in three other quotations——two again from V. & V. (exx. 12, II Ca; 5, II Da) and one from Ms. O of Layamon (ex. 7, II Ca).

(6) *If the day ever comes that I may thrive so well that you will come to the land where I shall be, I will reward you well with great worship.*

(7) *When he came to the spot where his army lay, *...

Here, again, the two first instances should be noticed. In example 4 the relative clause introduced by *per* or *ware* is dependent on the present participle *sechinde* [sechinge] as well as on the noun *an* [a] *lond*. This cognitive construction leads the scribe of the later MS. to substitute *ware* for *per*. Example 5 is a particular instance where the parenthetic relative clause that precedes the *par*- or *ware*-clause contains the cognitive verb *wite(n)* (=know), which appears in the later version as if introducing an object clause that is properly to be introduced by indefinite-interrogative *ware*. It is presumable that these phenomena were adding motive force to the transition from the word of demonstrative origin to the word of indefinite or interrogative origin in the function of relative or subordinate conjunction.12

We should further compare the following quotation from *Lambeth Homilies*, where indefinite *hwer* is used after the object noun of *seched*.

(8) *The unclean spirit goes off the sinful man, goes from place to place, and seeks some resting place where he may dwell.*

II Ca.

In the sense of ‘where,’ ‘in or at the place where’ or ‘to the place where’ and introducing an adverbial clause of place, also, *per* [par] is predominantly used in the EME texts. *War(e)* [quor], again, can only be attested in the Otho MS. of *Lazon* and *Genesis and Exodus*.

(1) *Go to your father’s tomb or where any of your kinsmen is lying, and ask him what he has gained by his wrong dooms.*

(2) *Little does he know what suffering is, what heat is where the soul abides, and how bitter the wind blows there.*

12 In the following pair of quotations from the two versions of *Lazon*, the construction in the early version is of much the same kind as in example 4 or 5 above, but in the late version the cognitive verb *bi-holde* is immediately followed by an object-clause which indefinite-relative *ware* introduces: “*he seolf wende seond pis lond to sechen enne breene feld per he mihte wel sprede on his feire hude.*” C 14201–4

“*him seolf wende overal to bi-holde ware he mihte wel sprede his bole hude.*” O. (=He himself went over this land to seek a broad field [to behold] where he might well spread his beautiful bull-hide.)
(3) Loke pat pu ne bo pare
Par chauling bop and cheste 3are. —Owl & N., C 295—6.
(=See that you are not where chattering and contention are ready.)

(4) Vor he nis noper 3ep ne wis
Pat longe abid par him nod nis. —Ibid. 465—6.
(=For he who remains long where he is not required is neither cunning nor wise.)

(5) Pis iherde pa king per he læi an skenting, and leop ut of bure swulc hit an liun weore.—Lazamon, C 19166—8. (=The king heard this where he lay in amorous play and leapt out of the bower as if he were a lion.)

(6) Per stod seint Austin and his clærkes mid and spoken of crist godes sune..., per heo iurüden to, to wraðere hele.—Ibid. 29951—6. (=Where Saint Austin and his clerks stood together and spoke of Christ, God's son, there they approached to injure them.)

(7) Nas par non so god wif, par pe he lifde his lif, 3if 3eb were fair and fore, pat he ne makede hire hore.—Lazamon, O 7025—8. (=There was no good wife, where he lived his life, whom he did not make a whore if she was fair and beautiful.)

(8) ...hii stille spoken par pat hii seten pat Vortiger were worpe to welde peos riche. —Ibid. 13443—6. (=They spoke stilly where they sat that Vortiger was worthy to govern this realm.) (Cf. C: heo al spoken per heo heore mete ~ten [=where they were eating their food] pat...)

(9) Hi gunne for arieue
Per king modi was sire. —King Horn, C 1625—6.
(=They arrived where King Modi was a ruler.)

(10) Bi dei sum time oder bi niht gederio in ower heorte...pe pinnen pe prisuns polie~ant habbe6 per ha ligge6 wið irn heuie ife6eret.—Ancrene Wisse 19. 7—10. (=Some time by day or by night recollect in your mind the pains that prisoners are suffering where they lie heavily fettered with irons.)

(11) Wite6 awei fram me, for6 mid ða dieulen, ðar ðie naure ma eft me ne 3esien! —V. & V. 19. 32—33. (=Go away from me, forth from the devil, where you will never see me any more again.)

(12) Waleawa, Eve children, hu ðie bieð beswiken, ðe seche~ blisse wiðuten paradise, ðar ðe nan nis!—Ibid. 89. 21—22. (=Woe, Eve's children, how are you deceived, who seek bliss without Paradise, where no bliss is !)

(13) Patt Cristess Goddeounnesses wass
All cwicc annd all unpinedd,
Per Crist wass dæd o rodetreo
Forr all mannkinne nede; —Orm. 1434—7.
(=...that Christ's divinity was quite alive and uninjured, where Christ was dead on the cross for all mankind's need.)

(14) An enngell comm off heffness ærd,
Inn aness weress hewel,
Till hirdess per per pe33 patt niht
Biwokenn pe33re faldess. —Ibid. 3336—9.
(=An angel, in a man's form, came from Heaven's region to the shepherds where they were watching their sheepfolds that night.)
(15) And ee pe33 fundenn par pe child
Par itt wass le33d i criibe. —Ibid. 3400—1.
(¼And also they found the child where it was laid in a crib.)

(16) ...ha•••lahhen pe to hokere per pu o rode hengest.—Wohunge U. L. 283. 20—
21. (=They scorn you where you are hanged on the cross.)

(17) Dor god him taunede, made habram
An alter, and fro ðeðen he nam. —Gen. & Ex. 757—8.
(¼Where God showed Himself, Abram built an altar, and took his way from there.)

Under this category we see double determinative forms, such as per ~ per..., per per,
per pe, and per pat. In the correlative constructions “per ~ per...” (ex. 6) or “per...
per ~” (ex. 15), demonstrative per or par indicates that conjunctive per or par precedes
or follows it correlativev. This concrete type of double determinative construction is
characteristically frequent in Old and Middle English, though it is later to be superseded
by “where ~ there...” or “…where ~.” In the juxtapositional type pare par (ex. 3) or
par pe (ex. 14), the first demonstrative pare or pter and the second par or pter have
coalesced into a single subordinate conjunction. Here, however, example 3 seems especial-
lv instructive in that it retains a good deal of its original structure: pare, apparently stressed,
rhymes with sare in the subsequent line.

For par pe (ex. 7) and ðar ðe (ex. 12), par ðe in ex. 8, II Ba, should be compared. The
newer form par pat (ex. 8), which, together with par pe, is found only in the Otho MS. of
Læsamon but not in the Caligula MS., is to be preserved till LME. Vices and Virtues, the
work in the East Midland dialect, is also worth noting. It contains both the single and
the double form of par. Inclusive of all the four kinds of relative or conjunctional uses, we
find there fifteen instances of ðar [par] and nine of ðar [par] ðe or ðar pe.

II Cb.

As in the case of the relative adverb, quuor, a variant form of hwar [war], is used as
subordinate conjunction, as well, in Genesis and Exodus:

(1) So was him lif to wurðen leid,
Quuor ali gast stille hadde seid
Him and hise eldere fer car bi-foren,
Quuor iseu crist wulde ben boren,
And quuor ben dead, and quuor ben grauen; —2472—31.

(¼So it pleased him to be buried where the Holy Ghost had secretly told him and his
elders far before him where Jesus Christ would be born, die, and be buried.)

This quotation is particularly suggestive for the historical development of where from
indefinite-interrogative to conjunctional relative. In these five successive lines are found
four quuors, the first of which is evidently a subordinate conjunction introducing an ad-
verbal clause of place. The latter three, though formally identical with the first, are all
interpreted as interrogatives that introduce object-clauses dependent on the verb seid (=
told). In the actual context, however, the two kinds of quuor are functionally associated
with each other; we might come to a fairly good understanding of the passage by reading

13 Cf. Kivimaa: The Pleonastic That in Relative and Interrogative Constructions in Chaucer’s Verse (Helsinki,
from the first to the fourth and fifth lines, skipping the two intermediate lines, and making the others mean "...to be buried where Jesus Christ would be born, die, and be buried."

We find here again the contrastable use of per and war(e) in the two versions of Lazamon:

(2) ...heo him pene king tahten per he hundede on comelan wið his hird-iferen i pon wude of Kalaterere.——C 6629–32 / ...hii pane king tahte war he was an hontinge mid his ivere in pan wode of Kalaterere.——O. (=They directed him to the king, where he was hunting with his courtiers [companions] in the wood of Kalaterere.)

(3) Boccus pene king icneowen per he was i compen.——C 27623–4 / Boccus hii icnewe war he was in fihtte.——O. (=They knew King Boccus where he was in the combat.)

(4) ...after Penda sende per he was fulaste in pen castle of Excestre.——C 31135–7 / ...after Penda sende ware he was welaste in pen castle of Excestre.——O. (=He sent for Penda where he was very secure in the castle of Exeter.)

It may be observed that in these instances the substitution of war(e) for per in the later version is in some degree ascribable to the governing verbs which have more or less cognitive sense—tahte(n) (=taught, directed to), icne(o)we(n) (=knew), and sende after (=sent for). Each of these verbs has some semantic potentiality to take as its object a noun clause that is introduced by an interrogative.

II Da.

The more indefinite and generalizing force the local conjunction acquires, the more tendency we have to use the word of indefinite origin, hwer [hwar, war], often intensified by the enclitic particles alswo, so, sum, etc. Even in this use, however, the older word of demonstrative origin, per [par], still held its ground in EME.

(1) Mid pine pipinge pu adunest
Pas monnes earen par pu wunest. ——Owl & N., C 337–8.
(=With your piping you din the men's ears wherever you dwell.)

(2) He bi-sohte al pat folc per he ford ferde pat heo him solde helpen to muchelere neode.——Lazamon, C 6595–8. (=He besought all the people, wherever he passed forth, to help him in his great need.)

(3) ...nis na god wone per as peose preo beoð, mihte ant wisdom ant luue iueiet to gederes.——Ancrene Wisse 17. 8–10. (=There is no lack of good wherever these three—might, wisdom, and love—are joined together.)

(4) Se ðe wile cumen after me in to heuene, bere his rode on ierðe swa ic dede, and swo he mai me fol3in and cumen dar ic am.——V. & V. 33. 26–28. (=Whoever will come after me into Heaven, let him bear his cross on earth as I did, and so he may follow me and come wherever I am.)

(5) Dar ðe ðin hord is, par is pin herte.——Ibid. 69. 25. (=Where your hoard is, there is your heart.)

(6) Annd oxe chewwepp par he gap
Hiss cude, annd tar he stanndëpp,
Annd chewwepp forrpenn per he lip, ——Orm. 1236–8.
(=And the ox chews his cud wherever he goes and wherever he stands and also chews
wherever he lies.)

(7) Annd forr-pi trouwwe icc pat te birrp
    Wel polenn mine wordess,

    E33wuar par pu shallt findenn hemm

    Amang Goddspellier wordess. ——Ibid. 51—54.

(=And therefore I believe that you should well tolerate my words wherever you may
find them among the words of the Gospel.)

(8) So may god frio dor he wile. ——Gen. & Ex. 1520.

(=So may God thrive wherever He will.)

Apart from dar de (ex. 5), per as in the quotation (ex. 3) from Ancrene Wisse and e33-
whar par in the quotation (ex. 7) from the Ormulum are to be specially commented on. per as is a new combination that began to be used in some West Midland texts in the thir-
teenth century but continued into LME, as we shall see several instances of it under the
sections III A—Da. Here as (<OE eal swā ‘all so’) is an intensive particle and has been
 appended to per so as to reinforce its determinative function. As in per as might thus be
compared with so in whereso.

In e33wuar par, e33wuar (<OE ḡ-wār) is an indefinite adverb meaning ‘every-
where’ and the par-clause following functions as an explanatory appositive. Here par
has its determinative force doubly emphasized by the preceding e33wuar, which is itself an
intensified indefinite. The combination, on the other hand, is suggestive of the potentiality
of indefinite whar to grow into a relative or conjunctive adverb in the sense of ‘wherever,’
as we shall see it in II Db. We should further compare (uuer) awher (ex. 13, II Db) and
LME ay wher (ex. 6, III Db), either of which means ‘wherever’ in itself.

As to example 5, furthermore, we should observe the correlative form “Dar de
per...,” which has retained the feature of the old double determinative construction. With
this quotation may be compared the LME version by Wyclif, which will be quoted as ex.
4, III Db.

II Db.

i. The transitional phenomena are shown in the quotations from the different MSS.
of the same texts—the Lambeth MS. (of the twelfth century, in the West Midland dialect)
and the Jesus College MS. (of the thirteenth century, in the same dialect) of Poema Morale,
and the Caligula MS. and the Otho MS. of Lāzamon.

(1) He ane is eure an ilche stude, wende per pu wende.—Poema Morale, L 86 / He
is on ewiche stude, wende hwer pu wende.—J 85. (=He (alone) is (always) in every
place, go where you may.)

(2) Comen per heo comen, auere heo heom sło3en.—Lāzamon, C 20667—8 / Come
ware hii come, euere me hii slowe.—O. (=Come where they might, they always slew
the men.)

14 Cf. Kivimaa, Pe an,pat, p. 142f. and The Pleonastic That, p. 21. By the way, unlike him, I should like
to consider as not merely “pleonastic” but organic, invested with some of its original force as demonstrative.
15 MED (s.v. AYWHERE) ascribes ME e3 [ai] to ON ai, which corresponds to OE ā (=always, ever). OED
(s.v. AYWHERE), on the other hand, explains OE āghwār as substitute for āgehwār, which is cognate with
OHG eogihwār (ā ever+gehwcār everywhere) and so equivalent to ever-ywhere. It goes on to say that the
compound was phonetically reduced in ME and came to look like a compound of ay (=ever) and where.
(3) Arður we wunsum per he hafde his iwissen. —Ibid., C 22515–6 / Arthur was wisman ware he hadde his wille. —O. (=Arther was winsom [a wise man] wherever he had his will.)

(4) Penne weore he wilcumne a pissere worlde-richen, come per he come. —Ibid., C 23019–21 / Panne were he welcome in euereche riche, come ware he come. —O. (=Then he would be welcome in every realm in this world, come where he will.)

Of these two, however, the more appropriate way of expression to convey the sense of 'wherever' was the word of indefinite origin, hwer [wher, wer, ware]. Though it was found, probably more frequently, in the composite forms, we shall first give instances of the single form.

(5) And pu tukest wrope and vuele,

\[Whar \ pu \ miȝt \ over \ smale \ fuȝele. \] —Owl & N., C 63–64. (=And you wreak vengeance cruelly, wherever you can, upon small birds.)

(6) ... pe sculden witen pat lond and ... læden here ferde wher hit neod weore. —Laȝamon, C 5279–82. (=...who should guard the land and...lead their army wherever it would be necessary.)

(7) Whenne pu wult riden, wið pe pu miȝt hit leden and setten hit whar pu wulle, after pine iwille. —Ibid. 22919–22. (=When you are going to ride, you may carry it with you and place it, at your will, wherever you like.)

(8) Peȝ horn were under molde,

\[Oper elles wher he wolde,\]
\[Oper Henne a pusend mile,\]
\[Ihc nodle him ne pe bigile. \] —King Horn, C 335–9. (=Although Horn may be under the earth or else wherever he will, or a thousand miles away from here, I won't beguile him nor you.)

(9) He chæs himm sone kinnesmenn

\[All swillke summ he wollde,\]
\[Annd wher he wolde borenn ben\]
\[He chæs all att hiss wille. \] —Orm. 3498–3501. (=He soon chose himself whatever kinsmen he wished and chose them all at his will wherever he might be born.)

ii. In EME hwer [wher, wer, ware] in the sense of 'wherever' was often intensified in its indefinite or generalizing force by the enclitic particle so, pe, or pat or by the adverb eauer. Hwer so (as in exx. 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18 and 19) goes back to OE swâ hwær swâ, from which the first swâ has been dropped. For whar ðe in the quotation (ex. 16) from Vices and Virtues and war pat in the quotation (ex. 14) from the Otho MS. of Laȝamon, we should compare par pe and par pat, which are also found in the respective works. In these composite forms, enclitic pe and pat are to be interpreted as intensifying the indefinite determinative force of whar [war]. The adverb eauer added to hwarse (=hwer-so, se being a weakened variant of so), in the quotation (ex. 15) from Ancrene Wisse, presents a proto-

\[16 \text{With these instances of per (MS.C) and ware (MS.O) in Laȝamon it may be worth comparing the following, where woder (<OE hweder whither), the indefinite adverb of place that is cognate with ware, in MS.O is as well contrasted with per in MS.C:} \]
\["Ech mon mot liden per his lauerd hine hateth gan." —C 24859–60 / "Ich man mot wende woder his louerd hotep." —O. (=Each man must go wherever his lord orders him to.)\]
type for the modern combining form -ever in wheresoever or wherever.\(^{17}\)

(10) Pu praihe iheu crist pi sone pat he me i-wisse,

\[\text{Were a londe al swo ihec beo pat he me ne i-misse.}\]

---Prayer V. 3-4.

(=You pray your son Jesus Christ that he may guide me and not miss me wherever on earth I may be.) [Also cf. 1. 27.]

(11) Pes word he sended-pat heo moten wonien wer swa heo wolde, inne griðe and in friðe.—Laȝamon, C 476-480. (=They have sent these words so that they may dwell wherever they will, in peace and in amity.)

(12) Wher swa heo funden æine mon at-wunden…, pa quenen lude lōzen and al hine to-dro3en.—Ibid. 12868-73. (=Whenever they found any man escaping, the women laughed loudly and tore him all in pieces.)

(13) …al pat lond he sette an his aȝere hond, and per monraddene he nom auere awher he com.—Ibid. 13367-72. (=He put all the land into his own hand, and he took the fealty wherever he came.)

(14) Po pe drakes 3aru were, pe oper was his i-veres, war pat he on erpe ladde his ferde.

---Laȝamon, O 18210-3. (=When the drakes were ready, the one was his companion, wherever on earth he led his army.) (Cf. C: …whar swa he an ærde ladde hi ferde.)

(15) …buheð duneward—hwerse 3e eauer hereð Maries nome inempnet.—Ancrene Wisse 14. 13-16. (=Bow downward—wherever you hear Mary's name spoken.) (Cf. Ancrene Riwle 8. 14-17: …hwar so 3e ever ihereð maries nome inemned.)

(16) Whar de godd 3if6 bese mihte, hit kydh hit sone.—V. & V. 109. 12. (=Wherever God gives this might, it soon shows itself.)

(17) Forr sopfasst lufe bærnepp aȝ33,

Loc 3iff pu't mihht ohht findenn,

Annd whar-s’ itt iss itt harrdnepp all

Pe gode manness heorte, ---Orm. 1572-5.

(=For true love always burns, whether you may find it or not, and wherever it is, it strengthens all the good man's heart.)

(18) Annd ta wass sett tatt iwhille mann,

\[\text{Whar summ he ware o lande,}\]

\[\text{Ham sholde wendenn to patt tun}\]

\[\text{Patt he wass borenn inne}, \quad ---\text{Ibid. 3288-91.}\]

(=And then it was decreed that every man, wherever he was in the country, should go home to the town he was born in.)

(19) Quor-so de folc was of ysrael,

\[\text{He adden ligt and sowen wel, ---Gen. & Ex. 3107-8.}\]

(=Wherever the Israelites were, they had light and saw well.)

Among the forms of 'whereso' the two in the quotations from the Ormulum are further to be commented on. Whar-s' (ex. 17) has its final vowel e elided from whar-se so as to meet the metrical requirement of the verse. Sum in whar summ (ex. 18) comes from Scandinavian sum, som, related to ON sem. In both derivation and function it is the exact

\(^{17}\) With this "hwerse--eauer" should be compared "hwem se--eauer" also quoted from Ancrene Wisse, which is recorded in my "The Development of When," s.v. exx. 43, V. For the OE instances of ever in this use, still earlier than the one here given, see my "OE Pêr and Hwâr," s.v. exx. 17 and 18, III.
counterpart of OE demonstrative adverb *swā* (>ModE *so*).\textsuperscript{18}

Example 13 may be worth specially remarking. For the combination *auere awher* (*euere e3wher*) we should compare *e3whier par*, which was instanced as ex. 7, II Da. Here, however, the emphatic indefinite itself has been turned into a relative conjunction, reinforced by the preposed adverb *auere* (*euere*). What is most remarkable is that *wher* has its indefinite and generalizing force doubly emphasized by the preposed elements, unlike all the other instances given in this section, where the emphasizing element follows *wher*. In this respect the combination is analogous to OE *swā hwār*, thus retaining the concrete type of expression proper to older English syntax.

III. LME

In LME there is indeed a fair advance of *wer* (*hwer, wher(e]*) in the use of relative adverb or subordinate conjunction; but in comparison with the case of *than* (*then*), *tho* versus *hwan* (*whan, when*), the preservation of *par* (*per, ther(e]*) in the sphere of *wer* (*hwer, wher(e]*) is still remarkable. Now two aspects may be mentioned that would deserve particular attention. First, in several LME works, such as *Gawain*, Chaucer, Lydgate, Caxton, and *Gesta Romanorum*, *per* (*ther*) as local relative or conjunction is found alongside *wher(e)*, while as temporal relative or conjunction *whan* (*when*) has been fully established. Secondly, in some other LME works, such as Dan Michel’s *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Piers Plowman, Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, and *Castle of Love*, *per* (*ther(e]*) along with *huer* (*wher(e]*) is also found as local relative or conjunction, while as temporal relative or conjunction both the older *po* (*tho*) and the newer *huanne* (*whan, when*) can be attested. On the other hand, it is rather an unexpected phenomenon that only a few LME works, such as the Wycliffite Version and the *Paston Letters*, so far as I have found out, make an exclusive use of the newer *whan* and *wher(e)* as temporal and local connective.

In the sense of ‘wherever,’ *wher*, or what might be termed its intensified variants, *wher-so, wher that, wher ever*, etc., are used more frequently than in EME, though the older *ther, ther that, or ther as* is sometimes still found.

Next, just to get a general notion of how in LME *ther* was preserved, in the relative and conjunctional functions, amid the advance of *wher*, I should like, taking the English of Chaucer as representative of LME, to show the percentage of the instances of *ther* or *ther as*, as against those of *wher* or *wher as*, that are found in Chaucer’s main works\textsuperscript{19}: *ther* 33%, *ther as* 37%; *wher* 11%, *wher as* 19%—that is, *ther (as) 70%* as against *wher (as) 30%*.

III Aa.

In examples 1 and 5 below, *par* or *per* as non-restrictive relative might also be interpreted as anaphoric demonstrative. As is the case with examples 5 and 6 under II Aa, these are to be considered suggestive of the incipient stage in the historical process with

\textsuperscript{18} This sum-form is especially characteristic of northern works, such as *Cursor Mundi*. See exx. 20 and 27, III Db.

\textsuperscript{19} Here, it must be acknowledged, I am dependent upon Professor Kivimaa’s statistical statements given in *The Pleonastic That*, pp. 20, 21. By the way, the material for his investigation has been taken from *B.D.*, *H.F.*, *C.T.*, *Tr. & Cr.*, and *L.G.W.*
which we are concerned.

(1) Pan fell pai depe, or lesse or mare;
Sum in pe air, sum in the lift,
par pai drei ful harde schrift;
par pin pai bere opon pam ai,
And sua sal do to domes dai; —Cursor M., C 494—8.
(=Then they fell down, more or less deep, some in the air and others in the sky, where they should suffer from very hard confessions and always bear their pains on them, and so they will do till the domesday.)

(2) Pis es a sted welt ful wan,
par all godes wantes nam; —Ibid. 641—2.
(=This is a place full of wealth, where no one is lacking in any sort of goods.)

(3) And in this hous, ther ye me lady maade
I nevere heeld me lady ne mistresse,
But humble servant to your worthynesse,
(=And in this house, where you made me lady, I never think myself lady or mistress but a humble servant to your worthiness.)

(4) Prey hire to synken every rok adoun
Into hir owene dirke regioun
Under the ground, ther Pluto dwelleth inne,
—Ibid., F (Fkl. T.) 1073—5.
(=I pray her to sink every rock down into her own dark region under the ground where Pluto dwells.)

(5) And po he hedde al wel idon,
He com to pe valeye of Ebron.
per he made Adam alast so riche
Of corpe after hymself iliche, —Castle of L. 125—8.
(=And when he had done all this well, he came to the valley of Hebron, where he in the end made Adam out of earth so fine as to resemble himself.)

(6) For atte neces of his priutee,
At pe Caane of Galylee,
A gistnynge he made Architricleyn,
per he tornd water to wyn. —Ibid. 1265—8.
(=For at the wedding of his relative at Cana of Galilee he made a feast for the master, where he turned water into wine.)

(7) Pu made my son on rode be rent,
per rewth it was to se hym rest. —Rel. Lyrics x. 29—30.
(=You had my son rent on the cross, where it was piteous to see him rest.)

The composite form per [ther] as, which began to appear in West Midland texts in the first half of the thirteenth century (cf. ex. 3, II Da), spread in use in the fourteenth century and came to be used also by East Midland writers, such as Chaucer. The enclitic as is indeed sometimes employed to meet the metrical requirement of a verse structure; but the type of combination has originated in the old favoured structure of double determinative,
where *per* and *as* are both of demonstrative derivation. The organic force of *as* is perceived in that in Chaucer *ther as* and *wher as*, as we shall instance it under III A-D b, are often felt as more emphatic than simple *ther* or *wher* and as appropriate for contexts that have more or less emotional colouring. Below we shall quote some LME instances of *per [ther]* as non-restrictive relative adverb.

(8) As he sprent ouer a spenne, to spye pe schrewe,

*Per as* he herd pe howndes pat hasted hym swype,

Renaud com richchande pur3 a ro3e greue,

And alle pe rabel in a res, ry3t at his hele3.

——Gawain 1896—9.

(=As, looking for the wicked fox, he leaped over a hedge, where he heard the hounds hurrying on, Reynard came rushing through a rough thicket, with the pack in all haste just at his heels.)

(9) And so bifel that, long er it were day,

This man mette in his bed, *ther as* he lay,

How that his felawe gan upon hym calle,


(=And it so happened that long before daybreak this man dreamed in his bed, where he lay, that his brother called upon him—)

(10) ... after the word of Jhesu Crist, it is the endless blisse of hevene, *ther* joye hath no contrarioustee of wo ne grevaunce, *ther* alle harmes been passed of this present lyf; *ther as* is the sikernesse fro the payne of helle; *ther as* is the blisful compaignye that re-joysen hem everemo ...; *ther as* the body of man—i—is moore cler than the sonne; *ther as* the body—is inmortal ...; *ther as* ne is neither hunger, thirst, ne coold, but every soule replenysed with the sighte of the parfit knowynge of God.——Ibid., I (Pars. T.) 1076—9.

(=As Jesus Christ says, it [i.e. the fruit of penance] is the endless bliss of heaven, where joy has no opposite quality of sorrow or grievance; where all harms have passed out of this life; where one is free from all the pain of hell; where the blissful company enjoy themselves for ever; where a man's body is clearer than the sun; where the body is immortal; where there is neither hunger, thirst, nor cold, but every soul is filled with the sight of his perfect acquaintance with God.)

In the last quotation, which was composed in a perorational style, Chaucer used in the parallel syntactic positions first two *thers* and then five *ther-as's*. The alternation of the connectives is apparently in accordance with the progressive increase in the writer's emotional emphasis.

III Ab.

Next we shall see how the word of indefinite-interrogative origin was used as non-restrictive relative in some LME texts.

(1) For 3ee most leue pis lufsum land,

Vnto pe wreched werld to gang,

*Quare* pou sal thinc pou liues to lang,——Cursor M., C 948—50.

(=For you must leave this lovely land for the wretched world, where you will think that
you are living too long.) (Cf. MS. G: ...pe wretched world ...; par pu sal thinck pi liif ful lang.)

(2) And fer ouer pe French flod Felix Brutus
On mony bonkkes ful brode Bretayn he sette3,
wyth wynn;
Where werre and wrake and wonder
Bi sype3 hat3 wont per-inne,
——Gawain 13—17.

(3) Nyle 3e tresoure to 30u tresours in erthe, wher rust and mou3the distruyeth, and
wher theeues delu3en nat out and stelen; but tresoure 3ee to 30u tresouris in heuene, wher
neither rust ne mou3the distruyeth, and wher theeues neft nor moths corrupt them, and
wher thieves dig them out and steal them; but gather you treasures in
heaven, where neither rust nor moths corrupt them, and where thieves neither dig them
out nor steal them.) (Cf. L: Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra: ubi ærugo,
et linea demolitum: et ubi fures effodiunt, et furantur. Thesaurizate autem vobis the-
sauros in caelo: ubi neque ærugo, neque linea demolitum, et ubi fures non effodiunt, nec
furantur.)

(4) And thus, God woot, Mercurie is desolat
In Pisces, wher Venus is exaltat;
And Venus sallee ther Mercurie is reysed.
——Chaucer, C. T., D (W. B. T.) 703—5.

(5) The God of Loue hadde the nat sene,
Ne had Idelnesse the conueyde
In the verger where Myrthe him pleyde. Rom. Rose 3232—L

(6) ¥ ¥ ¥ and als so faste
Fer into Tibre thei it caste,
Wher the Rivere it hath defied: ——Gower, Conf. Am. 1. 1041—3.

(7) To london once my steppes I bent,
Where trouth in no wyse should faynt,
——Lydgate, L. Lyckpeny 1. 1—2.

(8) Beft at ane pillar, blaiknit and forbled
At Locostratus, quhair pai leid pe law. ——Rel. Lyrics xci. 23—24.

(9) I ¥¥¥was born and lerned myn englissh in kente in the weeld, where I doubte not
is spoken as brode and rude enligshh as is in ony place of englond——Caxton, Prol.
& Ep. 4. 27—30. (=I was born and learned my English at the woodland in Kent, where undoubtedly the broadest and rudest English is spoken in all England.)

(10) A-non' after per was a gret comyng of pepull vn-to pe same cyte per pe chylde was in vn-to pe fayre, wher’ all pepull wente vn-to pe fayr’.——Gesta Rom., Glouc. MS. xii. 758. 20—22. (=Soon afterwards a large number of people came to the fair in the same city that the child was in, where all people went to the fair.)

Concerning the transition in question, examples 1, 4 and 10 are especially noteworthy. In example 1, quoted from Cursor Mundi, we have par in the Göttingen MS. just where the Cotton MS. has recourse to quare, the northern form of whare. In example 4, quoted from Chaucer, the parallel verses contain wher and ther in the positions that semantically correspond to each other. It is true that syntactically they fail to belong to the same category; the former is a relative adverb, while the latter is a subordinate conjunction, that is an item which should be assigned to Class C. But semantically we can see that they are very closely associated. The choice of the different syntactic structures in such a poetical passage must have been largely attributed to the metrical requirements of the concrete context; but inquiring into the poet's inner motivation, we might assume that he used wher when he had lapsed into a somewhat deliberate process of thinking and that he used ther when his thought was running more spontaneously.

Much the same thing can be said of example 10. Here per and wher' (=where) are used to refer to the same antecedent "pe...cyte," though the former is more closely related to the antecedent than the latter, and it should be assigned to Class B——so different it is in syntactical function from the latter. The shift from per to wher' in the parallel structures, however, seems to reflect the delicate vacillation in the scribe's feeling towards the two relatives: the former is felt more direct and straightforward than the latter. Whatever the motives, these phenomena, as observed in examples 4 and 10, indicate the fact that the usage of the local connectives was still in a transitional and fluctuating stage in the LME period.

For the quotation (ex. 3) from the Wycliffite Version of the Bible should be compared Chap. 1, exx. 1—6, of my “OE Pær and Hwær.” Wyclif’s exclusive use of wher(e) as local relative or conjunction may be described as considerably due to his faithful recourse to the Latin original of the Vulgate.

It should be particularly noticed that the combination of wher with the enclitic particle that or as,20 either of which is derived from a demonstrative and whose original function is to intensify the determinative force of indefinite wher, began to be used in the fourteenth century as definite relative or subordinate conjunction, as well as in the sense of ‘wher-ever.’21 Below we shall quote some instances of wher that and wher as as non-restrictive relative adverb.

(11) And evermo that me was wo,
The more desyre had I to go
Vnto the roser, where that grewe
The fresshe bothomm so bright of hewe. —Rom. Rose 1787—90.

20 So far as Chaucer is concerned, ther [wher] as, inclusive of all the four uses A—D, is far more frequent than ther [wher] that. As to wher as in Chaucer, Kivimaa (The Pleonastic That, p. 22) points out that it is commoner with antecedents (that is, in the uses of A and B) than without (that is, in the uses of C and D).

21 Compare the earlier instance of war pat (=wherever), given as ex. 14, II Db.
the fresh buds so bright in colour were growing.)

(12) Lo thus expondeth Daniel
The kynges swevene faire and wel
In Babiloyne the Cite,
_Where that_ the wiseste of Caldee
Ne cowthen wite what it mente; ——Gower, _Conf. Am._ Pr. 663—7.

(=Behold, thus Daniel explains the king's dream well and beautifully in the city of Babylon, where the wisest of the Chaldeans could not tell what it meant.)

(13) Whan pe feste was do, this man Socrates had hir home to his owune howse,
_Wher' pat pey er' to-geder' in pece and in perfyte helt3 long tyme._—_Gesta Rom._, Glouc. MS. ii. 724. 13—15. (=When the feast was done, this man Socrates took her home to his own house, where they were together in peace and perfect health a long time.)

(Cf. MS. W: _...to his owne house, where as they lyued in pease and helth longe tyme._ / L: _...ad domum suam propriam...; vbi per aliqua tempora in pace et in sanitate perfecta adinvicem dies multos duxerunt._)

(14) And whan he was in this prosperitee,
Hoom with his wyf he gooth to his contree,
Nat fer fro Pedmark, _ther_ his dwellyng was,
_Where as_ he lyveth in blisse and in solas.
——Chaucer, _C. T._, F (Fk!. T.) 799—802.

(=And when he was in this prosperity, he went home with his wife to his country, not far from Pedmark, where his dwelling was, and there he lived in bliss and solace.)

(15) O goode God, muchel oghte to drede swich a juggement, "_ther as_ we shullen been alle," as Seint Poul seith, "biforn the seete of oure Lord Jhesu Crist;" _whereas_ he shal make a general congregacioun, _whereas_ no man may been absent.—_Ibid._, I (Pars. T.) 161—2. (=O good God, a man ought to dread much such a judgement, "where we should all be," as Saint Paul says, "before the seat of our Lord Jesus Christ;" where he will preside over a general congregation, where no man can be absent.)

(16) And straght thurghout the salte fom
He takth his cours and comth him hom,
_Where as_ he fond Penolope; ——Gower, _Conf. Am._ vi. 1469—71.

(=And he takes his course straight throughout the salt foam and comes home, where he found Penelope.)

We see in example 14 a parallel use of _ther_ and _where as_ and in example 15 a threefold use of "_ther as_; _whereas_, _whereas_; _whereas_," each functioning as a non-restrictive relative, which one after another introduces an explanatory clause. In either of the quotations, it is noteworthy, the second relative _where as_ is felt to be somewhat more deliberate and emphatic than the first _ther_ [ther as].

_Where as_ in example 16 has been regarded here as referring to the local idea denoted by _hom_ (=home), which is descriptively an adverb. If the _where-as_-clause were to be taken as appositive to the local adverb _hom_, it would be treated as an adverbial clause that modifies "comth (him hom)" and _where as_ should be termed subordinate conjunction and so belong to Class C. In the actual expression, however, the main verbs, _takth_ and _comth_, are in the present tense so as to describe the action dramatically, while the subordinate clause, with its predicate verb "fond" in the past tense, is appended as a sort of extraposi-
tional explanation to the main statement. This stylistical consideration has made me treat
the clause as non-restrictive relative.

III Ba.

Among the following LME instances of per [ther] as restrictive relative the first is es-
pecially noteworthy. In this quotation from Cursor Mundi, the structure of the par-clause
containing the prepositional adverb amang (=among) is to be compared with the variant
expressions in the different MSS. In MS. F it is expressed by a contact clause with the
prepositional adverb at its end, and in MS. G the clause is introduced by the pronominal
relative pat and has the prepositional adverb appended to its end. This phenomenon
shows that in this transitional stage there was a considerable syntactical affinity still
externally observable between the two relatives pat and par, both originating from the
demonstrative stem, Gmc *pa-.

(1) Pa scorpion for-bare is stang
Fra besta par he lai amang: —Cursor M., C 693–4.
(=The scorpion abstained from stinging any of the animals among whom he lay.) (Cf.
F: ...fra pe bestes he lay a-mange / G: ...Fra bestis pat he lay emonge,)

(2) He put him oute wit-outen bade
Vnto pe weld par he was made. —Ibid. 943–4.
(=He drove him out without delay into the world where he had been made.)

(3) Syn 3e be lorde of pe 3onder londe per I haf lent inne,
Gawain 2440.
(=Since you are lord of the land where I have stayed, ...)

(4) Lentily wip ioye pe Iustices somme
Buskide hem to pe bour pere pe burde dwellip,
Comfortide hire kyndely be clergies leue,
(=Some of the judges, with the clergy's permission, hurried along, gallantly and joy-
fully, to the bower where the lady dwelt, and kindly comforted her.) (Cf. MS. V: ...in
to pe bour pere pe Buyrde was Inne...)

(5) And if so be that thou my lady wynne;
And sle me in this wode ther I am inne,
Thow mayst wel have thy lady as for me.
(=And if you win my lady and kill me in this wood where I am, you may well have your
lady in my place.)

(6) After hir deeth ful often may she wayte,
Er that the wilde wawes wol hire dryve
Unto the place ther she shal arryve. —Ibid., B (M. L. T.) 467–9.
(=Very often she may expect to die before the wild waves drive her to the place where
she will arrive.)

(7) Stood, whan she dorste, and loked on the place
Ther she was born, and ther she dwelt hadde ay;
—Id., Tr. & Cr. v. 710–11.
(=She stood, whenever she dared, and looked on the place where she was born, and
where she had always dwelt.)

(8) Pat is pe water of vertu

 pat is pe water of vertu

\(\text{Per vs gostliche strenep swete Jhesu,}\quad \textit{Castle of L.} 1465-6.\)

(That is the water of virtue where sweet Jesus begets us spiritually.)

(9) For here in the same place there the grete batayle was, ys grete tresoure hydde in the erthe.——\textit{Malory}, 38. 16-18.

(For here in the same place where the great battle was, great treasure is hidden in the earth.)

(10) Balyn——told the knyghte how he fond her as he had slepte fast, and so brought hym in the place there she lay fast slepynge.——\textit{Ibid.} 87. 20-34.

(烝and so brought him into the place where she lay fast asleep.)

(11) A bare berde wyl sone be shaue

 pat is pe water of vertu

\(\text{Per no here is left aboute; \textit{Rel. Lyrics} CLXXII. 49-50.}\)

(A bare beard where no hair is left about will soon be shaved.)

(12) When pei were oute of pe castell and had bene a goode while in pe town, ther come a wolfe and come in-to pe house per pe chyld was in.——\textit{Gesta Rom.}, Glouc. MS. xii. 758. 24-25.

(Cf. MS. H: pepere come a wolfe, and enterid in at the yate of the castelle, and yede in to the house pere the chylde laye.)

Of the two EME composite forms par pe and par pat, the former had been lost but the latter had been preserved till LME and was then more frequent. Another composite form ther as occurred even more commonly in the function of restrictive relative adverb. The instance of ther that given as example 13 below, by the way, is the only one of the combination that is found in all Chaucer's works.

(13) Hit happed that I cam on a day

 pat is pe water of vertu

\(\text{Into a place ther that I say,}\quad \textit{Chaucer, B. D.} 805-9.\)

(It happened one day that I came to a place where I saw, truly, the most beautiful company of ladies, all assembled together, that a man had ever seen.)

(14) The grete tour, that was so thikke and stroong,

 pat is pe water of vertu

\(\text{Trewly, the fayrest companye}\quad \text{Was evene joynant to the gardyn wal}\quad \textit{Id., C. T. A (Kn. T.)} 1056-61.\)

(The great tower, which was so thick and strong, was directly adjacent to the garden wall where this Emily was amusing herself.)

(15) ···muche bloode they bledde bothe, that all the place thereas they fought was ovrbledde with bloode.——\textit{Malory}, 50. 24-25.

(They both bled so much blood that the place where they were fighting was all covered with blood.)

(16) This knyght is goynge to the Castell Daungerous thereas my systir is beseged.——\textit{Ibid.} 315. 26-27.

(This knight is going to the Castle Dangerous where my sister is besieged.)

Next we shall see the use of par [ther] immediately following a preposition and itself introducing a clause as regimen of the preposition. Already in Old English we have such
an instance as: "...stood *after per* past child was (Matt. ii. 9)"; and the function may be regarded as intermediary between the relative and the conjunctional.

(17) On the morn, wen it was dai,
Jacob ras *fra par* he lai, — Cursor M., C 3797—8.

(=The next morning, when it was day, Jacob rose from where he lay.)

(18) For it so longe passed is,
Sithe ferst than ye fro home wente,
That welynhy every man his wente
*To there* I am, while ye ben oute, — Gower, Conf. Am. iv. 166—9.

(=For it is such a long time since you first left home that almost every man has come where I am while you are out.)

III Bb.

Here are some instances of LME *wer* as restrictive relative adverb.

(1) *Pe numero pat out of heuen fell*
Po can na tung in erth noght tell;
Ne fra pe trone *quar* he can sitte,
How farr es in to hell pitte; — Cursor M., C 503—6.

(=No tongue on earth can tell how many fell out of heaven, nor how far it is from the throne where he can sit down to the pit of hell.)

(2) *He welk pat fell ner dais thre*
To sek *pe sted quar he wald be.*
Quen he pe sted sagh *par* he tight,
*Pe child he dide o pe ass light,* — Ibid. 3155—8.

(=He walked through the hill nearly three days seeking the place where he would be. When he saw the place where he had come, he put the child off the ass.) (Cf. T: ...
To seche pe stude *pere* he wolde be. Whenne he coom *pere as* he tis...)

(3) *Pe tauerne ys pe scole of pe dyeule huere his deciples studiep, and his 03ene chapele*
*per huer me dep his seruese, and per huer he makep his miracles zuiche ase behouep to pe dyeule. —* Dan Michel, Ayen. Inw. 36. 20—24. (=The tavern is the school of the devil where his disciples study and the chapel of his own where they do his service and he makes his miracles, as befits the devil.) (Cf. F: La taverne est l'escole au diable ou ses deciples s'estudient e sa propre chapele la ou l'en fait son servise e la ou il fait ses miracles teles comm il afiert au diable.)

(4) ...pe lord...was full wrop and toke Joseph into prisoun *where* pe gyuyd men of pe kyng wern ykepte.—Wyclif, Gen. xxxix. 19—20. (=The lord was very angry and put Joseph into the prison where the king's prisoners were kept.) (Cf. L: dominus ...
*iratus est valde: tradiditque Joseph in carcerem, ubi vincti regis custodiebantur, ...*)

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11 See ex. 1, III ii, in my "OE Pär and Hwär." Also cf. ex. 1, III Cb below.
12 It may be worth noting that in the Wycliffie Version the prepositional relative pronoun *in pe which* or the pronominal *pat*, instead of *where*, is sometimes used for L *ubi* or *quo* as restrictive relative adverb: "he was torned a3eyn by pe wey pat he comme fro pe soup in Bethel, vnto pe place in *pe which* beforne
he had fitchid a tabernacle"—Gen. xiii. 3. (=He again went his way from the south to Bethel, till he came to the place where he had formerly fetched a tabernacle.) (Cf. L: ...ad locum *ubi* prius fixerat tabernaculum) "He forsope areride a stone ne signe of wyrship in *pe place pat* god speke to hym."—Gen. xxxv. 14. (=Indeed he set up a stone as a sign of worship in the place where God had spoken to him.) (Cf. L: ...
in loco *quo* locutus fuerat ei Deus).
(5) With moodres pitee in hir brest enclosed,
   She gooth, as she were half out of hir mynde,
   To every place where she hath supposed
   By likelihede hir litel child to fynde;
(=With mother's pity enclosed in her heart, she went, as if she were half out of her mind, to every place where she had supposed it likely to find her little child.)

(6) With that anon sterte out Daungere,
   Out of the place where he was hydde. ——Rom. Rose 3130—1.
(=With that suddenly Danger started out of the place where he was hid.) (Cf. F: Atant saut Dangier li vilains De la ou il s'estoit muciez.)

(7) He bad his man to gon and spire
   A place where sche myhte abyde,
(=He bade his man go and inquire for a place where she might dwell.)

(8) Bot soffe me to go mi weie
   Out of this hous where I am inne, ——Ibid. viii. 1452—3.
(=But let me go my way out of this house where I am.)

(9) Arthur—t ook the swerd bitwene both his handes and offred it upon the aulter where the Archebisshop was, ——Malory, 16. 17—19. (=Arthur took the sword between both his hands and offered it upon the altar where the Archbishop was.)

(10) ——hast betrayed the contre where thou were born and the cyie that thou oughtest to kepe.——Caxton, Hist. of Troye (Skeat, ix. 188—9). (=You have betrayed the country where you were born and the city that you ought to protect.)

(11) And in my cuntre but a myle fro the place where I was born, is the poure hous of Bromholm of the same ordre,——Paston L. No. 20 [1430?].

Example 2 should be noted in two respects. First, quar is used after the antecedent pe sted (=the place) as object of the verb sek (=seek), whose semantic and structural features are to be compared with those of search as in exx. 4 and 8, II Bb. Secondly, the construction is immediately followed by a parallel one, which comprises the verb sagh (=saw) and the relative par. We may see here some significant motivation of the substitution of quar for par in the corresponding function. Example 7, again, is worth remarking. There "a place," the antecedent of the relative wher, is the object of the verb spire (or spurien < OE spyrian to follow track, investigate, inquire), whose interrogative content makes us expect that it would take as its object a noun clause introduced by the indefinite-interrogative wher. In the actual structure, however, we have wher as relative anteceded by a place, displaying as it were a transitional phenomenon. It is for this syntactical situation that wher is felt more appropriate than ther.

In those texts whose composition was based upon the French originals, such as Ayenbite of Inwynt or The Romaunt of the Rose, F œu or la œu is apparently held responsible for the use of huer or where, as we see it in examples 3 and 6. Especially per huer24 in example 3 shows itself to be an exact copy of F la œu, though this type of double determinative,

24 Here the combination is hybrid in that the first component is of demonstrative origin and the second of indefinite origin. With this we may further compare such native combinations as per wher' (ex. 13, III Cb) and ther wher as (ex. 17, III Cb), though these introduce not relative but adverbial clauses.
also seen in *par pe [pat], ther as [that], wher as [that], etc., is of native origin.

In example 5, quoted from Chaucer, *where* following “to every place” might be better interpreted as meaning ‘wherever’ in itself and introducing an adverbial clause that is appositive to the adverbial phrase “to every place.” Here again we can see a subtle vacillation of *where* in function from the indefinite to the definite relative.

Concerning the use here treated, we may below refer to a noteworthy instance where *where* structurally introduces a noun clause in the sense of ‘the place where’ (cf. exx. 17, 18, III Ba), though it is semantically related to the preceding verb of motion, *cam*, and so suggestive of the function of subordinate conjunction, which belongs to Class C.

(12) So cam sche to prively,
    And that was *where* he made his mone
(=So she came to him secretly, where he was moaning inside a garden all by himself.)

As restrictive relatives, too, *wher* was sometimes accompanied with *that* or *as*.

(13) For Pees bileeup in no londe
    *Wher* *pat* is werre, nup, and onde,         ——Castle of *L.* 441–2.
(=For Peace does not believe in any land where there are war, envy, and jealousy.)

(Cf. MS. V: ...*Wher* per is... / MS. H: ...*Ther* as werr is nyȝh honde).

(14) To falle on hym at mor auantage,
    The same way that Tydeus gan drawe
    At thylke mount *wher* that Spynx was slawe.    ——Lydgate, *St. of Thebes* 1110–2.
(=...to fall upon him at more advantage in the same road that Tydeus was drawing near, at the very mountain where the Sphinx was killed.)

(15) The heved of Capricorne is the lowest point *where* as the sonne goth in wynter,
    and the heved of Cancer is the heighist point in which the sonne goth in somer. ——Chaucer, *Astrolabe* n. xvi. 5–8. (=The head of Capricorn is the lowest point where the sun goes in winter, ...)

(16) And so one a tyme Merlyon ded shew hir in a roche *whereas* was a grete wondir
    and wrought by enchantment that went undir a grete stone. ——Malory, 126. 21–23.
(=And so once Merlin showed her into a rock where a great wonder was made by an enchantment which lay under a great stone.)

III Ca.

As a subordinate conjunction that introduces an adverbial clause of place, *per [ther(e)]* was still commoner than *wher(e)* in LME. 25

(1) Til pai com *per* peir fader lay

25 We may here note the LME use of *per [ther]* which having retained a good deal of its demonstrative nature introduces a semi-paratactical clause of optative exclamation. It is suggestive of a transitional stage through which the function of *per [ther]* was passing from the demonstrative to the conjunctional adverb. Especially, *ther* in the first instance below is apparently local in meaning, though it introduces an optative clause: “And wente his wey, *ther* God yeve hym meschance!” ——Chaucer, *C.T.*, B (M.L.T.) 602 / “Arcite is coold, *ther* Mars his soule gye (=guide)” ——*Ibid.*, A (Kn. T.) 2815 [cf. also D (Fr. T.) 1561, D (Sum. T.) 2265, E (Merch. T.) 1308; *Tr. & Cr.* iii. 947, 966, 1437, 1456, v. 1787] // “Graaunt mercy,” quop Gawayn, “*Per* Kryst hit yow for-gelde,” ——*Gawain* 838-9. (=“Many thanks!” says Gawain. “May Christ requite you for this!”)
And him per wit pan hiled pai; —*Cursor M.*, C 2045–6.

(=...till they came where their father lay and then covered him with it.)

(2) Vor he pet wyphalt opre manne ping mid wrong be kueade skelle zene3ep dyad-lieche, bote yef he hit yelde *per* ha ssel yef he hit wot and mo3e hit do.—Dan Michel, *Ayen. Inw.* 9. 32–10. 2. (=For he who withholds other men's things unjustly in an evil manner sins deadly, unless he gives them back where he should, if he knows the place and can do it.)

(3) Lays vp pe luf-lace pe lady hym r3t, 
Hid hit ful holdely, *per* he hit eft fonde. —*Gawain* 1874–5.

(=He laid up the love-lace which the lady had given him, hiding it very faithfully where he might find it later.)

(4) *There* the catte is a kitoun the courte is ful elyng;
—*Piers Pl.*, B Prol. 190.

(=Where the cat is a kitten, the court is very wretched.)

(5) For thei that ben vnkinde to his hope I none other, 
But thei dwelle *there* Diues is dayes with-outen ende. —*Ibid.* xvii. 267–8.

(=For those who are unkind to his people, I cannot help hoping, will dwell eternally where Dives is.)

(6) *Ther* I was free, I moot been in servage. —*Chaucer, C. T.*, E (Cl. T.) 147.

(=Where I was free, I had to be in servitude.)

(7) *Ther* I was fostred of a child ful smal, 
Til I be deed my lyf *ther* wol I lede, 

(=Where I have been fostered from a very small child, there I will lead my life, a widow clean in body and heart, till I die.)

(8) Upon the morwe, whan that it was day, 
To Britaigne tooke they the righte way, 
Aurelius and this magicien bisyde, 
And been descended *ther* they wolde abyde. —*Ibid.*, F (Fkl. T.) 1239–42.

(=The next morning, when it was day, Aurelius and the magician at his side took the direct way to Brittany and dismounted where they would dwell.)


(=But where I love, there I stand firm.)

(10) Riht so this knyht on daies brode 
In clos him hield, and schop his rode 
On nyhtes time, til the tyde 
That he cam *there* he wolde abide; —*Ibid.* 1. 1729–32.

(=...just so this knight kept himself concealed in the broad daytime and went riding in the nighttime till he came where he would stay.)

(11) Muche more feirschupe inou3 *per* wes

*Per* God Almi3ten his in ches. —*Castle of L.* 747–8.

(=There was much greater beauty enough where God Almighty chose his one.)

(12) And *elles wher* *per* he code
Muche folk him suwede of feole peode, —Ibid. 1275—6.

(=And elsewhere, where he went, many people of various lands followed him.)

(13) And she anon fille in a maner fer,
Speecally whan she saugh the blood
Sprad al the grene aboute ther she stood.

—Lydgate, _St. of Thebes_ 1274—6.

(=And immediately she fell into a sort of fear especially when she saw the blood spread about all the green where she stood.)

(14) I wold fayne ther my deth shold be.—Malory, 88. 27—28. (=I would be joyfully where my death should be.)

(15) I shall bryng you there ye may be herbourde.—Ibid. 173. 3—4. (=I shall bring you where you may be lodged.)

(16) And pe stere before hem glode

Vntyll pie were per ihu lay,
Woondyn in a cryb of hey. —Ryl. _Lyrics_ lxxxix. 30—33.

(=And the star passed on before them until they were where Jesus lay, enclosed in a crib of hay.)

(17) And there were they two at counceill Anthenor seyd to hym he shold take this some of gold. —Caxton, _Hist. of Troye_ (Skeat, ix. 14—16). (=And where they two were at counsel, Anthenor told him to take that sum of gold.)

In examples 7 and 9, the correlative construction “ther ~ ther…” reminds us of the old double determinative construction which has outwardly preserved some paratactical nature. Example 11 is also in a similar construction, though here the principal clause precedes the subordinate one.

The combination elles wher per in example 12 is to be specially noticed. Here the compound indefinite adverb elles wher (=elswhere) is followed by per introducing an appositionally adverbial clause. We might perceive some suggestion of the developmental aspect that the determinative force latent in the indefinite, activated by the word of demonstrative derivation, was going to display the function as subordinate conjunction. The phenomenon may thus be assigned to the transitional stage between Ca and Cb (or Db).

Next we shall observe some LME instances of ther(e) as as subordinate conjunction.

(18) Bot styply he start forth vpon styf schonkes,
And runyschly he ras3t out, pere as renkke3 stoden,
La3t to his luflly hed, and lyft hit vp sone. —Gawain 431—3.

(=But firmly he started forth on his strong legs, fiercely reached out, where the men stood, towards his comely head, and immediately lifted it up.)

(19) _There as wratthe and wranglyng is_ ther wynne thei siluer,
_Ac there is loue and lewte_ thei wil nou3te come there;

—_Piers Pl._, B iv. 34—35.

(=Where there is strife and wrangling, there they gain silver; but where there is love and fidelity, there they will not come.) (Cf. C[v. 35—36]: For _ther_ wratthe and wranglyng ys _ther_ their wolle a-byte; _Ac ther_ loue and lewte ys hit lyketh nat here hertes:)

(20) His spirit chaunged hous and wente ther,
_As I can nevere, I kan nat tellen wher._
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(=His spirit changed its abode and went where I never came, I cannot tell where.)

(21) For ther as wont to walken was an elf,
Ther walketh now the lymytour hymself
In undermeles and in morwenynges, —Ibid., D (W. B. T.) 873—5.

(=For where an elf was used to walking, there now walks the holy friar himself in the
mid-afternoon and in the morning.)

(22) And forth he wente, shortly for to telle,
Ther as Mercurye sorted hym to dwelle. —Id., Tr. & Cr. v. 1826—7.

(=And he went forth, to put it shortly, where Mercury had allotted him to dwell.)

(23) For whanne I am ther as sche is,
Though sche my tales noght alowe,
Ayein hir will yit mot I bowe,
To seche if that I myyte have grace: —Gower, Conf. Am. I. 1282—5.

(=For when I am where she is, I must bow against her will, though she does not allow
me to speak, and beg if I may have grace.)

(24) And forth she gooth and touched hym ful softe,
Ther as he lay, with her hondes smale;
——Lydgate, St. of Thebes 1284—5.

(25) Now lete me see whether ye can putte the swerd theras it was and pulle hit oute
ageyne.——Malory, 14. 22—24. (=Now let me see whether you can put the sword
where it was and pull it out again.)

(26) But thereas mannes herte is sette he woll be loth to returne. —Ibid., 97. 26—
27. (=But where a man's heart is set, he will be reluctant to turn away from it.)

[thereas=from the place where]

(27) And ther as mane can schape no remedy,
Schew ye youre myght, youre grace and your goodnesse
To youre servaunt that lythe in grete dystresse.
——Rel. Lyrics xxxii. 5—7.

(=And where no man can find any remedy, show your might, grace, and goodness to
your servant who is in great distress.)

For this kind of local connective example 20, quoted from Chaucer, is especially en-
lightening. It may be described that in the passage ther as is as it were analyzed into its
components so as to occur in an enjambment; but from a genetical point of view, we would
rather say that ther as has been reduced to its original structure so that ther can display
explicitly its own demonstrative nature and as its determinative force.

With ther(e) as as clause-introducer, also, we see the instances of the correlative con-
struction “ther(e) as ~ ther(e)…” in examples 19 and 21. Example 19, quoted from Piers
Plowman, B, exhibits a noteworthy phenomenon in that the successive parallel verses con-
tain “There as ~ there…” and “there ~ …there.” It may be perceived here that there
as, a mere variant of there, has been appropriated to fit the tone of the verse that is

24 Here it may be noted that in Malory thereas is also used to indicate contrast rather than local relation
meaning 'whereas, although,' as in: "thereas I may nat acquyte you, God shall."——177. 16—17; and even
in an independent clause to mean 'there,' as in: "hereby be forestes full fayre, and thereas oure foomen many."
——228. 6—7. (=In this neighbourhood there are some very fine forests, and a great many enemies there.)
apparently more emphatic than the one where simple *there* is used.

III Cb.

In the LME period *wher(e)*, or its composite form *wher(e) that* or *wher(e) as*, as subordinate conjunction was advancing in the sphere where *per* [*ther*] had hitherto been predominant, though it must be described in a number of cases that the choice of *ther(e) (as)* or *wher(e) (as)* was still fairly arbitrary.9

1. *...the sterre...wente bifoire him, til that it cummynge stood aboue, wher the child was.*—Wyclif, Matt. ii. 9. (=The star went before him, till it came and stood over where the child was.) (Cf. L: stella...antecedebat eos usque dum veniens staret supra, *ubi* erat puer.

2. And looketh now, *wher* moost sorwe is herinne,
   *Ther* wol we first amenden and bigynne.
   (=And look now, where there is the greatest sorrow, there we will first amend it and begin afresh.)

3. *Ther* I was wont to be right fressh and gay
   Of clothyng and of oother good array,
   Now may I were an hose upon myn heed;
   And *wher* my colour was bothe fressh and reed,
   Now is it wan and of a leden hewe—
   Whoso it useth, soore shal he rewe!—
   (=Where I used to be fresh and gay in nice dress and other good gear, now I must wear a hose on my head; and where my colour was both fresh and red, now it is wan and of a leaden hue—whoever practises it, woe be to him!)

4. Thou arte woxe to famyliere
   *Where* thou shulde be straunge of chere,
   Stoute of thy porte, redy to greue. —*Rom. Rose* 4013—5.
   (=You have grown too familiar where you should be reserved, and are stout in your behaviour, ready to be displeased.)

5. *Ther* make thei non other skile
   (=They make no other reasoning where the faith is in peril.)

6. I shall brynge you *where* he ys.—Malory, 110. 21—22.

7. So than they departed and cam to Sir Mordred *where* he had a grymme oste of an hondred thousand, ... —*Ibid.* 1234. *32—33.

8. Parfor pray we po trinite
   Pat we be neuur pedir dyght,
   Ffor pat had bene our ful ryght, —
   *Qware* pyne is bittur os is pe galle—
   —*Rel. Lyrics* lli. 43—46.

Therefore let us pray the Trinity that we may never be directed there—for that would have been very proper for us to do—where pain is as bitter as the gall is.)

(9) Wher it before wasse ryght lyght
And warme, that ys nowe ffull colde. —Ibid. clxxiii. 3—4.

(Where it was formerly very light and warm, it is now very cold.)

(10) And the thousand knyghtes yssued out, and where they fonde pe Troians they slewe hem in their howsis, where they sleepte as they that thought on no thinge.—Caxton, Hist. of Troye (Skeat, ix. 154—6). (=And the thousand knights rallied out, and where they found the Trojans they killed them in their houses, where they were asleep as if thinking of nothing whatever.) [The second where is a non-restrictive relative adverb, and so should be assigned to Class III Ab.]

(11) Wher the seyd Walter...was remytted to the kynges prison at Norwich by cause of the seyd sute, the seyd Walter yede at large out of warde fro the seyd xvj. day of Jull ’ to the seyd day of the makynge of the seyd arbitrement and award, ...—Paston L. No. 6 [1424].

(12) ¥¥¥at pe yeres ende thow schalt be put doun and exiled out of the reine, where’ pou schalt lede an harde lyfe and wretchedly.—Gesta Rom., Glouc. MS. 728. 2—5. (=At the end of the year you shall be put down and exiled out of the kingdom, where you shall lead a hard life and die wretchedly.) (Cf. MS. W: at the yeres ende thou shalte be exyled into suche a place, where as thou shalt dye a myscheuous deth. / L: in fine anni expulsus eris et in exilium positus vbi mala mortieris.)

(13) ¥¥¥hym aw3te not haue comen ’ neuer no mor ’ per’, where’ so myche harme he had be-for.’—Ibid. 756. 13—15. (=He ought never to have come any more where he had had so much harm.) (Cf. MS. A: he ¥¥¥ never shuld have gone agayn no more, where he had so many evels.)

In example 3, quoted from Chaucer, we see a parallel use of ther and wher in the corresponding function, both standing at the beginnings of the adverbial clauses in the antithetical statements. From a metrical point of view, it might be noticed that ther is expressed in an unstressed position and wher in a stressed one.

In example 2 we have a correlative construction "where ~ ther ...". Comparing it with "ther ~ ther ...", as seen in exx. 7, 9 and 19 under III Ca, we can see that the newer form is outwardly more distinct and so likely to display more expressive value than the older form and that it may be said to be on the way of replacing the latter.

In examples 5, 8 and 13, on the other hand, the conjunctural relative wher(e) or qware is preceded by the antecedent ther [per] or pedir (=thither; <OE pider). The conspicuous case is observed in the juxtapositional "per’, wher’" in example 13, where demonstrative per and relative wher are brought to stand side by side. We might here compare F la où.

Next, let us see some instances of the composite form wher(e) that.

(14) And such a smoke gan out wende
Out of his foule trumpes ende

28 It may be worth comparing the following ModE instances where we find the corresponding combination still maintained in the seventeenth century: "there where we look for Salvation, we must look also for Triumph"—Hobbes, Leviathan III. xxxviii / "...there, and there only, is political society where every one of the members hath quitted this natural power, ..."—Locke, Two Treatises of Civil Government II. vii.
Blak, bloo, grenyssh, swartish red,
As doth where that men melte led, ——Chaucer, H. F. 1645—8.
(=And such a smoke went out of the end of his foul trumpet, black, blue, greenish, dark red, as goes out where people melt lead.)

(15) The sooner that dethe hym slo,
To paradyse the sooner go
He shal, there for to lyue in blysse,

Where that he schal no good mysse. ——Rom. Rose 5643—6.
(=The sooner he dies, the sooner he will go to Paradise, to live in bliss where he will not miss any good.)

(16) Whan sir Gawayne was ware of that gay knyght, than he gryped a grete spere and rode streyghte torwaryde hym on a stronge horse for to mete with that sterne knyght where that he hoved.—Malory, 229. 4—7. (=⋯ to meet that stern knight where he remained.)

Here again it may be remarked that in example 15 where that is preceded by the antecedent demonstrative there.

Another composite form, wher(e) as, whose use is commoner than that of wher(e) that in the function concerned, is instance as follows:

(17) I sey nat thou shalt be so coward that thou doute ther wher as is no drede.——Chaucer, C. T., B (Mel. T.) 2516. (=I don't say that you will be such a coward as to fear where there is no dread.)

(18) For he the dremes of the kyng expowned,
Whereas in Chaldeye clerk ne was ther noon
That wiste to what fyn his dremes sowned. ——Ibid., B (M. T.) 3346—8.
(=For he expounded the king's dreams where there was no clerk in Chaldea who could tell what they meant.)

(19) ⋯ than is it divided in smale parties of azymutz, as est, and est by south, where as is the first azymut above the est lyne; ⋯ ——Id., Astrolabe ii. xxxi. 17—20. (=Then it is divided into smaller parts of azimuths, east and east-by-south, where the first azimuth is above the east line.)

(20) This Emperour out of the toun
Withinne a ten mile enviroun,

Where as it thoghte him for the beste,
(=This emperor had several places to rest within a ten miles radius of the town, where it seemed best to him.)

(21) Wher-as he stood, this myghty champioun,
Be side he saugh, with water turned doun,

In Chaucer where as or where that occurs not only as a relative conjunction but sometimes as an interrogative introducing a clause that depends upon a verb or verbal expression of cognitive signification. The first of the instances below is suggestive in this respect: "⋯ wayte where thin almury touchith the bordure, and there set a prikke. ⋯ wayte eftsonys where as thin almury touchith the bordure, and set there a nother prikke."—Astrolabe ii. xxviii. 3—8. (=⋯ watch where your denticle touches the rim, and there set a prick. ⋯ watch again where your denticle touches the rim,⋯) / He was war, as he caste his eye aside, Where that ther kneeling in the heighe weye A compaignye of laduies,⋯ ——C. T., A (Kn. T.) 896—8. (=He was aware, as he cast his eyes aside, where there kneeled in the highway a company of ladies.)
An huge stoon, large, rounde, and squar;

——Lydgate, St. of Thebes 1163—5.

(=This mighty champion, where he stood, saw beside him a huge stone, large, round and square, turned downward by the water.)

We see that in example 17, quoted from Chaucer's prose work, wher as has displayed its relative force so as to be immediately combined to the antecedent ther. Just as is the case with " per', wher'" (ex. 13), the combination ther wher as is apparently more intensive than simple ther, which would be assigned to Class Ca.

On the other hand, where as can be followed by the other particle that so as to constitute the threefold form where as that. The following is the only instance of where as that that can be found in Chaucer.

(22) Body and soule he with the devel wente
Where as that somonours han hir heritage.

——Chaucer, C. T., D (Fr. T.) 1639—41.

(=He, body and soul, went with the devil where summoners have their allotted place.)

Concerning the use of where as as subordinate conjunction of place, we might now note how where as as local connective was to be discarded and the same form came to be established as a conjunction of illative or adversative relation, the last sense being the prevalent one of ModE whereas. The semantic development began to take place in the fifteenth century when the use of simple where was going to prevail as a relative adverb or subordinate conjunction of place. This tendency caused where as, which was evidently felt more emphatic, to be functionally differentiated and specifically appropriated for a means to indicate a more abstract, logical, and putative relation. OED (s. v. WHEREAS 2, 3) cites, as the earliest quotations of whereas meaning 'inasmuch as' and 'while on the contrary,' from 1424 (Paston Letters) and 1535 (Coverdale, 2 Esdras vii. 5) respectively. Example 18 above, however, suggests that the semantic shift of whereas from the local to the adversative signification was starting as early as the age of Chaucer.30

III Da.

In LME ther(e), ther(e) that, or ther(e) as is still found as indefinite relative conjunction meaning 'wherever'; but as may be anticipated, there are far less instances of the use attestable than instances of wher(e), wher(e) as, wher(e) so, etc., which we shall deal with under III Db. In those instances ther(e) is invested with the sense of 'wherever,' not on its own account, but by the context, where ther(e) as subordinate conjunction has been made to assume some generalizing force. Ther(e) or ther(e) as in this sense can also be correlated with demonstrative ther(e), as in examples 1, 4, and 11 below.

(1) There parfit treuthe and pouere herte is and pacience of tonge,

There is Charitee, the chief chaumberre for god hymselfe!


30 The following instance quoted from Chaucer evidently illustrates the use of whereas indicating an adversative relation: "... is it resoun that he have harm that by his impacience medleth hym of the noyse of another man, whereas it aperteneth nat unto hym."——C. T., B (Mel. T.) 2733. (=It is natural that he should be harmed who through his impatience meddles in the rumour of another man while it does not belong to him.) Cf. H. Eitle: Die Satzverknüpfung bei Chaucer (Heidelberg, 1914), p. 17.
(=Where there are perfect truth, poor heart, and patience of tongue, there is Charity, the chief chamberlain for God himself!)

(2) Ful byg he was of brawn, and eek of bones.
    That proved wel, for over al ther he cam,
    At wrastlynge he wolde have alwey the ram.

(=He was very big in muscles and also in bones. That well proved to be true, for wherever he came, he would always have the ram as prize.)

(3) Wel litel thinken ye upon my wo,
    That for youre love I swete ther I go. —Ibid., A (Mil. T.) 3701—2.

(=Very little do you think of my woe that I should sweat for love of you wherever I go.)

(4) Ther dronkenesse regneth in any route,
    Ther is no conseil hyd, withouten doute. —Ibid., B (M. L. T.) 776—7.

(=Wherever drunkenness reigns in any company, there is, without doubt, no secret hidden.)

(5) So atte laste he moste forth his weye,
    And forth he fieeth til he cam ther hym leste.
    —Ibid. F (Sq. T.) 604—5.

(=So at last he had to go on his way and fled forth till he came wherever he pleased.)

(6) For also wel sche myhte seie,
    ' Go tak the Mone ther it sit,' —As bringe that into my wit: —Gower, Conf. Am. i. 1317—8.

(=For she might as well say, "Go and take the moon wherever it befits," as bring that into my mind.)

(7) Of vche goodschipe Pees is ende,
    Ne faylep no weole per heo wol lende;
    Ne wisdam nis not worp an hawe
    Per Pees faylep to felawe,

(=Peace is the end of every good deed. No happiness fails where she will remain; no wisdom is worth a haw where Peace fails to follow it.)

We might remark here the phrasal expression over al ther in example 2. From Chaucer we can quote two other instances of over al ther (=wherever): C. T., B (W. B. T.) 237 and C. T., D (Sum. T.) 2212. Here over al (<OE ofer eall) is a composite adverb meaning 'in every direction, everywhere' (cf. OED, s.v. overall adv. 1) and is followed by the ther-clause as its appositive amplification. At the same time, it functions as a sort of antecedent for the relative ther.

From another point of view, over al may be understood as emphasizing the function of ther as a relative conjunction of place and imparting to it a good deal of generalizing force. The combination might therefore be compared with Orm's e33 whar per, given as example 7 under II Cb, and also with ay wher and ayware whare, given as

1 Concerning Chaucer's use of ther in the sense of 'wherever,' it would be worth noting that he once had recourse to ther ever, though its connotation is rather temporal than local: "ther ever ye fynde, whyl ye lyve, A trewer servant to yow than am I, Leveth shanne, and sleeeth me hardely," —Compl. L. 110—2. (= Whenever you find, while you are alive, a truer servant to you than I, then forsake and kill me without hesitation.)

11 Also compare over al ther as (ex. 10, below) and over al wher that [so] (exx. 13, 23 under III Db).
examples 6 and 9 under III Db respectively.

The impersonal construction “there hym leste” in example 5 is a typical expression that is syntactically characteristic of this kind of adverbial clause in Middle English. It should be compared with these kindred expressions that will be treated under III Db: where hym list (ex. 5), where that hem liste (ex. 12), where as hem liste go (ex. 16), wher-so yow lyst (ex. 22), and wher as evere him lest to... (ex. 37).

(8) For there that pouerte passeth pees folweth after,

— Piers Pl., B xrv. 302. (= For wherever poverty passes, peace follows it.) (Cf. C [xvn. 141]: For ther as pouerte passeth pees folweth commenliche.)

(9) He was an esy man to yeve penaunce,

Ther as he wiste to have a good pitaunce.

— Chaucer, C. T., A (Prol.) 223-4. (=He was an easy man to give penance wherever he knew that he would have a good allowance.)

(10) And over all, ther as profit sholde arise,

Curteis he was and lowely of servyse.

— Ibid. 249-50. (=And wherever profit was likely to arise, he was courteous and humble in his service.)

(11) Ther povertie is, as seith Diogenes,

Ther as vitaile is eek so skars and thinne
That noght but mast or apples is therinne.
But, ther as bagges been and fat vitaile,

Ther wol they gon, and spare for no sinne

With al hir ost the cite for t’assaile.

— Id., Form. Age 35-40. (=Where food is also so scarce and meagre that there is nothing but mast or apples, as says Diogenes, there is poverty; but where purses and food are fat, there they will go and will not refrain from any sin to assail the city with all their host.)

(12) Til ate laste he knew and herde

How that an other hadde leve

To love ther as he mot leve,

— Gower, Conf. Am. ii. 112-4. (=...till at last he heard and knew that another was able to love wherever he might stay.)

If we compare the correlative constructions “Ther... Ther as...”. But ther as ~ Ther...” (ex. 11) with the similar type of construction “There ~ There...” (ex. 1) or “Ther ~ Ther...” (ex. 4), we shall see clearly enough that the composite conjunction ther as in the former is more emphatic and so more appropriate for introducing the antithetical series of statement than the simple ther(e) in the latter.

III Db.

It may be considered a matter of course that in LME the indefinite and generalizing relative adverb of place was more commonly performed by wher(e) or the several composite forms in which wher(e) has its indefinite force explicitly intensified. As for the latter, we exemplified in II Db some composite forms, such as whare alswo, wher swa, war pat, hwar so euer, etc., already used in EME; and in LME we have the expressions for ‘wherever’ more frequent and more formally variegated. Below, in giving instances of these forms
we shall classify them, besides i. simple wher(e), as follows: ii. wher(e) that, iii. wher(e) as, iv. wher(e)-so[-sum, -ser], v. wher(e)-so that, vi. wher(e)-so[-sum]-ever, vii. wher(e) ever, viii. wherever that, ix. wher(e) that ever, and x. wher(e) as ever.

i. (1) Pat ilk priest may were he gase
Here man scrift, asoil, and rede,
Pat es quen man es in wath o dede. —Cursor M., C 26191—3.
(=The same priest, wherever he goes, can shrive, absolve, and advise a man when he is in danger of death.)

(2) Pis wat3 pe kynges countenaunce where he in court were, —Gawain 100.
(=This was the king's custom wherever he might keep court.)

(3) For we will wisse the kyng and thi wey shape,
To be wedded at thi wille and where the leue liketh,
—Piers Pl., B iii. 17—18.
(=For we will inform the king and smooth the way to be married at your will and wherever you may live.)

(4) Forsothe wher thi tresour is, there and thin herte is. —Wyclif, Matt. vi. 21.
(=For where your treasure is, there is also your heart.) (Cf. L: Ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi est et cor tuum.)

(5) Allas, I se a serpent or a theef,
That many a trewe man hath doon mescheef,
Goon at his large, and where hym list may turne.
(=Alas, I have seen a serpent or a thief do a mischief to many a true man, go at large, and turn wherever he chooses.)

(6) Now hym he hurte, and hym al down he caste;
Ay wher he wente, it was arayed thus:
—Id., Tr. & Cr. ii. 109—200.
(=Now he hurt them and cast them all down. Wherever he went, it was so destined.)

(7) My thankes, wol I not haue fayled
To pull a rose of al that route
To bere in myn honde aboute,
And smellen to it where I went; —Id., Rom. Rose 1666—9.
(=I would never have failed to pull a rose with all its root to carry about in my hand and smell wherever I might go.)

(8) It hath and schal ben everemor
That love is maister wher he wile,
Ther can no lif make other skile; —Gower, Conf. Am. i. 34—36.
(=It has been and always will be true that Love is master wherever he will, where no one can do anything else reasonable.)

(9) Than yschewes pe emperour, armede at ryghtes,

With weches and warlaws to wacchen his tentys,
Ayware where he wended wyntres and 3eres.
—Morte Arthure 610—4.
(=Then, year after year, the emperor appears, fully armed, •••with witches and wizards
to watch his tents, wherever he goes.)

(10) And wher ye be, my lorde sir Launcelot, doute ye nat but I woll be wyth you, wyth the servyse that I may do. ——Malory, 826. 4—5. (="And wherever you are, my Lord Sir Launcelot, don’t doubt that …")

The emphatic form ay wher [ayware] in examples 6 and 9 should be specially commented on. Here the prefixal adverb ay- (<OE āg ever, always) emphasizes the indefinite or generalizing force of wher [war]. In example 9 the emphatic indefinite adverb ayware, which means ‘anywhere, everywhere’ in itself, is used as if it were an antecedent of the relative whare, and the combination ayware whare reinforces the meaning ‘ wherever.’ In example 6 ay wher itself performs the function of emphatic indefinite relative ‘ wherever.’ They are thus to be compared morphologically with Orm’s e33whar par (ex. 7, II Da) and Lajamon’s aere awher (ex. 13, II Db), and functionally with Chaucer’s overal where that (ex. 13 below).

Example 8 should also be remarked in that the same content comprises both wher and ther, the latter introducing the second adverbial clause which may be structurally interpreted as appositive to the first one “ wher he wile.” Here ther, which is to be assigned to Class Ca, is apparently far weaker than wher in functional force.

In example 5, indefinite where seems to be well appropriated to the idiomatic impersonal construction “ where hym list.” It would not be irrelevant here to refer to the other instances of the same construction in Chaucer: wher hym list (C. T., A (Kn. T.) 1351), where hym leste (subj.) (Ibid. 1848), where hym list (B (Sh. T.) 1514), go wher thee liste (subj.) (D (W.B.P.) 318), wher hym lest (Tr. & Cr. i. 306), and where hym liste (pret.) (Ibid. 949).

ii. (ll) Zuyfte hy byep, vor huer pet pe gost wyle by, uorzope per is pet body.
Dan Michel, Ayen. Inw. 269. 8-9. (=They are swift, for wherever the spirit wishes to be, there is truly the body.)

(12) For wo was hym, that what to doon he nyste,
But bad his folk to gon wher that hem liste.
——Chaucer, Tr. & Cr. i. 356-7. (=For woe was to him who did not know what to do but bid his people go wherever they liked).

(13) For overal where that I myne eyen caste
Were treës clad with leves that ay shal laste, ——Id., P. F. 172-3.
(="For wherever I cast my eyes, there were clad with leaves that would be everlasting.

(14) And where that he rydyth all he destroyes. ——Malory, 205. 26. (=And wherever he rides, he destroys everything.)

As to example 11, the correlative construction “ huer pet ~ per …” should be noted. The idiomatic impersonal structure “ where hym liste (pret.)” in example 12 is kindred with “ where hym list” in example 5 above. We can give from Chaucer and The Romaunt of the Rose the following instances of the same construction: wher that hym liste (C. T., A

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With this we may compare the ME idiom wyde where (=far and wide), where the indefinite local sense of where is emphasized by the prefixal adverb wyde: “ In Surye whilom dwelte a compaignye Of chapmen riche—That wyde-where senen hir spicerie, …” ——Chaucer, C. T., B (M. L. T.) 134-6. (=Once in Surrey there dwelt a company of rich merchants who sent their spices far and wide.) / “The fame, which goth wyde where, Makth knowe how that the Gregois were Homeward…” ———Gower, Conf. Am. iii. 1019-21. (=The rumour, which goes far and wide, makes people know that the Greeks were homeward.)
(Kn. T.) 1207) and where that the lyst (Rom. Rose 3447).

iii. (15) Whan it is nyght, we wol this tresor carie,
    By oon assent, where as us thynketh best.

(=When it is night, we will carry this treasure, with one assent, wherever we think best.)

(16) And often with hire freendes walketh shee,
    Hire to disporte, upon the bank an heigh,
    Where as she many a ship and barge seigh
    Seillynge hir cours, where as hem liste go. ——Ibid., F (Fr. T.) 848—51.

(=And she often walked with her friends to amuse herself, on the high bank, where she
    saw many ships and barges sailing their courses, wherever they pleased to go.)

(17) And this men sen, thurgh lacke of love
    Where as the lond divided is,

(=And we can see that wherever the land is divided for lack of love, things must assuredly
    go amiss.)

(18) •mekeli beseching•where as ther is defawte, that she arette hyt to the sym-
    plenes of my connyng• ——Caxton, Prol. & Ep. 5. 22—28. (=•humbly beseeching
    •that wherever there is any defect, she may attribute it to the simpleness of my
    learning•)

In the same context, example 16, we see two different uses of where as. The first
    where as functions as non-restrictive relative and so is to be assigned to Class Ab. The
second occurs in the impersonal clause “where as hem liste (pret.) go.” The other instances
    of the same construction in Chaucer are: whereas hym liste (subj.) (Tr. & Cr. iv. 1358) and
where as hym lest (Ibid. v. 753).

iv. (19) Wit all pou sal bi halden vile,
    Quarsa pou wendes in exile. ——Cursor M., C 1153—4.

(=You shall be considered vile, wherever you go in exile.) (Cf. F: •quare-euer pou comys
    in exile. / G: •Quar pu wendis in exile.)

(20) Pat ilk tung quars-sum pai war,
    Til ilk lede pai gaf ansuar: ——Ibid. 18957—8.

(=They gave answer to each of the people in each of their languages wherever they were.)

(21) For I wene wel iwysse, sir Wowen 3e are,
    Pat alle pe worlde worchipe3, quere-so 3e ride;
    ——Gawain 1226—7.

(=For I think it quite certain that you are Sir Gawain, whom all the world worships,
    wherever you may ride.)

(22) This steede of bras, that esily and weel
    Kan in the space of a day natureel—
    ..
    Where-so yow lyst, in droghte or elles shoures,
    Beren youre body into every place

(=•this steed of brass, which can bear your body very easily, in the space of a natural
    day, to every place wherever you like, in drought or showers.)
(23) But nowe they take no maner hede,  
But seyne in voyce of flatereye,  

Over al where so they fare,  
And synge, ' Go, farewel feldefare.' —Rom. Rose 5506—10.  
(=But now they take no care but say in a voice of flattery, wherever they go, and sing,  
"Go, farewell! All is lost!")

(24) Ne helpep him no ping wher so he wende, —Castle of L. 429.  
(=Nothing helps him wherever he may go.)

(25) The stone ouer hym he can vp-folde  
And trad vpon pe pruddist prest,  
And went his way wher-so he wolde —Rel. Lyrics x. 85—87.  
(=He could raise the stone over him, trod upon the proudest priest, and went his way  
wherever he would.)

With the intensive duplicated form over al where so in example 23 we should compare  
over al ther and over a/ ther as, given in examples 2 and 10 under III Da respectively. For  
the idiomatic impersonal construction "wher-so yow lyst" in example 22, we can give  
another Chaucerian instance: wherso hem lust (Rom. Rose 4421).

v. (26) Now good thrift have he, wherso that he be!  
—Chaucer, Tr. & Cr. ii. 847.  
(=Now let him have good fortune, wherever he may be!)

This is the only instance of wherso that that can be found in Chaucer.

vi. (27) Bot quare-sum-euer pis tre lai,  
Godd sceud par-on his mightes ai, —Cursor M., C 8931—2.  
(=But wherever this tree lay, God showed his powers on it.) (Cf. G: Bot quar-sua-euer  
pis tre lay, ...)

(28) And quere-so-euer pys mon in melly watz stad,  
His pro po3t watz in pat, pur3 alle oper pynge3, —Gawain 644—5.  
(=And wherever this man was busy in battle, his eager thought was on that, through  
all other things, ...)

(29) ...every wikkid schrewe, and for his wikkidnesse is the more gredy aftir othir  
folkes rychesse wher so evere it be in ony place, be it gold or precyous stones;——  
Chaucer, Boeoe ii. P. 5, 174—6.  (=Every wicked person, just for his wickedness, is  
all the more greedy for other people's riches wherever they may be, whether they are  
gold or precious stones.) (Cf. L: pessimus quisque eoque alieni magis auidus quidquid  
usquam auri gemmarumque est)

(30) For hidor or thidur wher ser heo turne  
They syn pe foule fynde in vche horne. —Castle of L. 1711—2.34  
(=For here and there, wherever they turn, they see the foul fiend in every corner.)

(31) They spare noper fore labour ne fore spendyng,  
To do 30ur pleisure wer-so-euer 3e be, —Rel. Lyrics cli. 26—27.  
(=They spare neither, pains nor expense to please you wherever you may be.)

*"Compare the similar formation from the cognate indefinite whidur (=whither), as in: "And pei shull  
be so ly3ht and swyft That whidur seuer pey penk pey may be lyft," —Ibid. 1783—4.  (=And they will be  
so light and swift that wherever they intend they will be carried.)
Of these ME forms of wheresoever, wher ser, as in example 30, looks the most conspicuous. Ser in wher ser is contracted from soe'er, so ere, which is in turn shortened from so euer, with the loss of the medial consonant.

vii. (32) Gop and gederp where euer 3e mowen fynden.—Wyclif, Exod. v. 11. (=Go and gather it wherever you may find it.) (Cf. L: Ite, et colligite sicubi invenire poteritis)

(33) I may assoyle, and I maye shryue,


(=I can absolve and shrieve all the people wherever they may be found.) (Cf. F: ... Toutes gens, ou que ie les truisse:)

viii. (34) Joseph thought wel on his mister,
Did gader sariantz and squier,
To gedir wrightes, far and nere,
Quar-euer pat pai funden were; —Cursor M., C 4669—72.

(=Joseph thought well of his master, and made the servants and squire gather workmen together wherever, far and near, they were found.) (Cf. F: ... quare pai euer fundyn were;/T: ... where euer pei miȝte be founde)

ix. (35) And everemoore, where that evere they goon,
Men may hem knowe by smel of brymstoon.


(=And every time, wherever they go, people know them by the smell of brimstone.)

[Also cf. ibid. 733.]

x. (36) Upon the ende of this est lyne ... is marked a litel cros, where as evere moo generaly is considerid the entring of the first degre in which the sonne arisith.—Id., Astrolabe i. vi. 8—12. (=At the end of this east line is marked a small cross, wherever the first degree where the sun rises is more generally considered to start.)

(37) For wher as evere him lest to sette,

Ther is no myght which him may lette. —Gower, Conf. Am. i. 37—38.

(=For wherever he is pleased to attack, there is no power that can hinder him.)

IV. Summary

I am now in a position to attempt a general conclusion about the process in the Middle English period by which the old par [per, ther(e)] was going to be superseded by the new war [hwar, wher(e)] in the function of relative adverb or subordinate conjunction. On the whole, the process is slow and gradual. Especially in the uses of Classes A, B and C, the advance of war [hwar, wher(e)] in the sphere of par [per, ther(e)] is not so marked as we expect it to be in the course from EME down to LME. This substitution of war [hwar, wher(e)] for par [per, ther(e)] is all the more felt to be slow because we are particularly concerned with a comparative observation of where and there as against when and then or tho.35

In this respect we are reminded of the semantic or logical features of the local connective as compared with the temporal connective. The former is of more concrete content

35 Among the quotations given in the present article, there are some —— exx. 2, II Aa; 14, III Ab; 7 and 17, III Ba; 2, III Bb; 8, 13 and 23, III Ca —— where in the same sentences the new temporal connective wane [wen, quen, whan, whanne] occurs alongside the old local connective par [ther, ther as].
than the latter. The local connective is more likely to be used in the structural situations where it immediately follows a noun of local reference, with its demonstrative or anaphoric function well preserved. The temporal connective, on the other hand, is more suited for an abstract form-word. It is much more used to introduce an adverbial clause of time (Class C) than a relative clause (Class A or B). The contrastable features seem to account for the early use of OE hwêr or its intensive composite form swâ-hwêr-swâ as indefinite relative meaning ‘ wherever,’ and also for the persistence of ME per [ther(e)], especially as it was used as definite relative (Class A or B).

We have observed what seems to have motivated the substitution of where for there in several quotations—such as exx. 4, 5 and 8, II Bb; 3 and 4, II Cb; and 2 and 7, III Bb. In those phenomena the substitution is ascribable to the semantic influence of the governing verbs whose signification is seeking, inquiring, or discovering and which have an aptitude in the contexts to be followed by the indefinite-interrogative ware [quar, whar], rather than per (par, ther), that is the word of demonstrative derivation.

Such phenomena have already been remarked about some Old English instances. They are moreover suggestive of the fluctuation in the usage that has not yet been established by the end of the Middle English period. The instances that seem particularly significant in this respect are the LME quotations, as follows: ...wher - ...ther - (ex. 4, III Ab) / ...ther - where as - (ex. 14, III Cb) / ...ther as - whereas - whereas - (ex. 15, III Cb) / ...per - in - , wher' - (ex. 10, III Ab). There we have noted that wher(e) (as) is more formal and deliberate in stylistic value than ther (as), and that this is especially true in the comparison of the emphatic forms wher(e) as and ther as.

Another point to be remarked is that while the old favoured correlative construction “ Per [Ther(e)] ~ per [ther(e)]...” was well preserved, as it is seen in a number of EME and even LME examples (6, 14, II Ca; 5, II Da; 7, 9, 11, 19, 21, III Ca; and 1, 4, 11, III Da), there began to appear in the LME period the newer form “ Wher(e) ~ ther(e)...”, as seen in exx. 2, 5 and 15, III Cb and 4 and 11, III Db. This process, gradual as it is, is in the direction of more distinct expressiveness and should be regarded as a characteristic aspect in the history of where developing in the function that has hitherto been performed by there.

As for Class D, indefinite war [hwar, whar(e)] in the sense of ‘ wherever ’ was naturally far advanced during the Middle English period, freely displaying its inherent value. In form it became more and more variegated, having several emphatic elements—though some of them, as in the case of a definite relative or conjunction, were merely metrical and pleonastic—appended after or sometimes even before it and thus its generalizing force reinforced. On the other hand, no less notice might be taken of the simple form establishing its idiomatic usage in such expressions as whar pu wulle (ex. 7, II Db), where hym list (ex. 5, III Db), etc., though here again our attention is also drawn to the persistence of the older type of expressions, such as dor he wile (ex. 8, II Da), ther him leste (ex. 5, III Da), etc.

It is now difficult to estimate how much influence wher(e) in this use (Db) was exerting

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It is presumable that the predominance in Chaucer of the spelling where, with the ending -e, as contrasted with the spelling ther, without -e at the end, is partly due to the quantitative weight that is greater in the former than in the latter, apart from the orthographical differentiation of whêre from whêr (<OE hwæper whether).
on the development of where in the subordinating function in general; but we might safely conjecture that the use of wher(e) in the sense of ' wherever ' had been delicately involved in the use of Cb, that is, that of wher(e) introducing an adverbial clause, where the indefinite and generalizing force of the word was likely to be more or less displayed according to the contextual requirements. When we come to the influence of Db upon Ab or Bb, that is, the uses of wher(e) as definite relative adverb, the matter is still worse. All we can say is that Chaucer's "every place where ~" (ex. 5, III Bb), just incidental though it may be, seems to cast some light on the question.

As for the external factor, we may mention the influence of Latin and French. We can see as early as the thirteenth century an apparent mark of French influence in the uses of war and wer, both possibly ascribable to F u (=ou), in the quotations from Kentish Sermons (exx. 1, 2, II Bb); and further in LME the French influence is held responsible for huere (cf. F ou), per huer (cf. F la ou) in Ayenbite Inwyt (ex. 3, III Bb), and for where (cf. F la ou) in The Romaunt of the Rose (ex. 6, III Bb). To Latin influence the use of wher(e) (cf. L ubi) in the Wycliffite Version of the Bible (exx. 3, 4, III Ab; 4, III Bb; 1, III Cb; 4, 32, III Db) may be evidently traceable, and wher' in the Gloucester MS. of Gesta Romanorum (exx. 13, III Ab; 12, III Cb) can also be traced to vbi in the Latin original.

The quot-forms, such as quer, quar(e), qware, quuor, and guhair, as found in Genesis and Exodus, Cursor Mundi, and some religious lyrics of the fifteenth century—all of Northern or East-Midland provenance—may truly be regarded as indirectly ascribable to the Latin or French influence; but we cannot judge this anything but a merely incidental factor for the development in question.

More intrinsically it is of native origin and has proceeded very slowly from the latter part of Old English through the Middle English period. The final fruition is to be achieved in the sixteenth century, when the whole system of English wh-relatives has been established.

The items following have been arranged, in the case of (A) EME, chiefly according to dialectal distribution, and in the case of (B) LME, roughly in the order of the dates in which the texts were composed.

(A) EME:


Let me here mention my acknowledgement to Professor Bruce Mitchell, who was good enough to remind me in his personal letter that I had placed too much emphasis on the early use of OE indefinite relative hwær in my "OE Pêr and Hwêr," as if it had also fully developed, prior to any other wh-word, the function as definite relative.


(B) LME:


Lindley, Stockholm, 1959. For the quotation from the original Vulgate we are dependent on *Biblia Sacra Latina*, London, 1794.


*Rom. Rose* = *The Romaunt of the Rose*. Fragment A (ll. 1-1775) is ascribed to Chaucer, who is supposed to have composed it before 1372. The language of Fragments B (ll. 1776-5810) and C (ll. 5811-7696) is somewhat tinged with Northern features. Translated from the OF text, *Le Roman de la Rose* (c. 1235—c. 1270). Ed.: R. Sutherland, *The Romaunt of the Rose and Le Roman de la Rose*, Oxford, 1967.


*Past L.* = *The Paston Letters*. Mostly Norfolk, East Midland. The pieces quoted are No. 6 (an. 1424) and No. 20 (an. 1430?). Ed.: J. H. Gairdner, London, 1904, repr. 1965.

*Gesta Rom.*, Glouc. MS. = *Gesta Romanorum*, edited from Gloucester Cathedral MS. 22, by K. I. Sandred, Uppsala, 1971. South Midland, with some North-Midland elements; the latter
half of the 15th c. Compared with MS. H=Harley 1333, British Museum (about the middle of the 15th c.), MS. A=Additional 9066, British Museum (the second half of the 15th c.), and MS. W=Wynkyn de Worde's Edition (c. 1510-15). The original Anglo-Latin text is edited from MS. Harley 5369, British Museum (c. 1400), collated with Bodleian MS. 123 (the early 15th c.). We have also quoted the additional edition by S.J.H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., E.S. No. 33, 1879, repr. 1962.